

JAVERNIER'S TRAVELS IN INDIA

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN FRENCH

BY

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

IN THE YEAR 1676.

REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION
OF JOHN PHILLIPS ESQUIRE,

PUBLISHED IN LONDON IN 1677,

WITH A VALUABLE INTRODUCTION, A SHORT MEMOIR OF THE
AUTHOR &C., NOTES, INDEX AND AN APPENDIX
CONTAINING THE FACSIMILIE REPRINT OF
THE ORIGINAL WOOD CUTS AND PLATES
AND ALSO WITH A FRONTISPIECE
CONTAINING THE PORTRAIT
OF J. B TAVERNIER.

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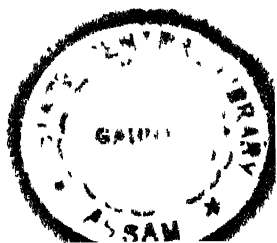
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Jean Baptiste Tavernier.



Dressed in the Roses of Honour presented to him by the Shah of Persia.



and the publisher hopes that it will receive distinguished approbation.

The reader will find the following pages exceedingly interesting. The entire book can be called a narrative of travels, adventures, study, and reflections combined. A cultivated and powerful memory enabled Tavernier to pour forth the stores, he had accumulated in his long and varied journeys, with a profusion as delightful as instructive. From the veriest description of early Indian weights and measure, passing by easy stages through the dense Indian jungles and mighty thoroughfares and high roads, the reader is led into the sublimity of the Moghul Court. Eloquent were the ideas, which it was his mission to unfold brilliantly,—ideas which soon developed a taste in Europe for acquiring knowledge and intelligence respecting India.

We have here a ready access into the condition of Hindusthan more than two centuries back. We have Meaurice, Ward, and others to lead us back a full hundred years, but double that number is surely far more interesting. The incidents scattered here and there throughout the work might enable many to form for themselves an accurate estimate of the merits and demerits of the Moghul rule, and compare it with the present British domination of Hindusthan. There are those who would like to theorise that the Mogul Emperors were far more humane and just than the English : for them the incidents related at pages 46 and 50 might be of service. In these horrifying details of head-cutting and poisoning, one may not place absolute confidence. But racial prejudice was unknown at that time, which rendered it unnecessary for Tavernier to call

untruthfulness into play. He indulged his taste and passion for curious research, and never was satisfied in the investigation of any question until it is said he had examined the very original authority. The facts and comments ought to diffuse a taste for historical enquiry and criticism, and everybody knows that this has become the prevalent characteristic of our age.

A ready explanation will be found for the queer spellings and the quaint language which characterise the work from beginning to end. In the first place Tavernier was a Frenchman, in the second the language is the English of 1650. It is enough that we can readily understand that Tavernier's "Hallabas" is modern Allahabad, and "Kenneroo" is modern Kamrup ! The peculiar construction at any rate serves to please the reader: the language is very plain though queer, and the vein of Tavernier's humour runs very rich. A vivid description, and a graphic narration form the staple of his writings ; and there are such wonderful tales of monkeys, elephants and other animals, that it is not difficult to snatch threads of humour whenever the description of the protracted journeys becomes tedious. Many of the adventures and incidents refer to the events of those old days, the interest of which has now passed away owing to the local allusions. They can be well detached from those important portions with which they are woven and entangled.

The most important things which we come across in this work are the Moghul Government, politics, battles, mosques, the harem, the police system and a very interesting idea of the Moghul rule in general. The description of the Moghul Court where, the

great traveller sold diamonds and pearls, is sometimes graphic and charming. Tavernier, being a merchant-writer, we constantly come across a profusion of flours, rice, butter, herbs, mutton, fowl, grain, wine in his writings ! A careful perusal of the *kos* and the *coste*, the *cowries* and the *roupees* give us an accurate idea of the nature of travels which men undertook in those days of slow locomotion. The petty affairs at Court and the caprices of the governors recorded, give in detail the state of affairs in those days and the character of the various sorts of men Tavernier commonly met with. The Portuguese adventures are all interesting beyond compare. Exciting times those were, no doubt ; and the battles narrated are particularly entertaining in view of the fact that the white man was then a curiosity in Hindusthan, with whom a certain section of the Indians were friends, and another inimical.

There are some important chapters on diamonds, pearls, &c. Some excellent rules have been given for knowing the accurate price and quality of a given diamond, and these rules, Tavernier states, were known to very few people in Europe. Excellent chapters have been written about Goleonda. The pearl-fishing chapters are of the old type, though interesting. Then we have the description of some stones obtained from animals, such as snakes, goats, etc. They form queer and interesting reading. We have then some absurd statements, and the most notable of them is the record that old sugar is a dreaded poison ! The entire description of these things, however, bear upon the one important subject of trade ; and it appears that the

great traveller was an astute and business-like trader, and showed much dash in all warlike encounters. He was many times insulted by the underlings of the Court, but always steered clear of all difficulties, the Emperor giving him full liberty to pass over all the harrowing etiquette of the Moghul Court.

There are some revolting excesses recorded in the book. Some have been ascribed to Bengal even, like the one mentioned in page 410. Like many of his countrymen, Tavernier unable to get at the meaning of idolatry vilifies the Hindus in a deplorable manner. We have nothing to say on this head. We have published his book merely as an invaluable record of the Moghul days and Moghul rule in India, and we care not for his theory as to the "cause of blindness in Bengal," vide p. 410. It is difficult to ascertain whether there is a single grain of truth in assertions like this. But it is no wonder if exaggeration and tales crept into the writings of even such an accurate narrator at a period when white men were inquisitive about ancient Indian practices, and when occasionally, the vulgar herd of men supplied them with information for a trifle. More important is his description of Satti-burning, and there is nothing to disbelieve in it. Later authors on India who visited this country during the early British rule, speak the same things in the same manner. They are, however, more elaborate, and does not record mere adventures, travels and exploits.

It is pleasant to note here that there are references to Japan in three or four places. Who would not greedily devour the gleanings? Men would jump

port of Massulipatam on the east coast of India. He saw Guzrat, Aurangabad, Golkunda and Surat

In 1657 Tavernier made his fifth voyage. The journey was made by Erivan and Tabriz to Ispahan. From Ispahan he went direct to Masulipatam. Thence he went to Burhanpur and the Central Provinces.

Shortly after his marriage in 1662 he started on his sixth voyage and did not return for five years. During this voyage Tavernier went over the old places and finished his business with his trade agents in Persia and India.

In the year 1675 Tavernier's first publication appeared under the title "*Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signior*." His great book the "Six Voyages" appeared in the following year. It is said that Tavernier was incarcerated in the Bastille in 1686. He was living in 1689; but after that there is no mention of him. It is said that he died sometimes in 1690.

. TAVERNIER AND BERNIER.

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MANY European Travellers came to India during the last half of the seventeenth century, the first and foremost among them are : Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Francois Bernier, Le Jean Thevenot, John Chardin, Carrè, Fryer, and Manouchi. Fryer was an English physician. Manouchi was a Venetian physician retained by Sultan Mazuum or Muazim, second son of Aurangzeb. The above five persons were all Frenchmen and almost contemporary to one another.

The exact date of M. Tavernier's first arrival in India is a matter of controversy. Mr. Orme gives the date as 1642, whereas Dr. Ball says that Tavernier first landed in Surat in 1641. Prof. Joret, however, suggests that he left Ispahan at the end of 1639, that he paid his first visit to Dacca in 1640, and that he remained in Agra during the winter of 1640-41. Bernier arrived at Surat in 1655. M. Francois Bernier was a physician by profession. He was the physician to the Great Mogul (Emperor Shah Jehan). His book, "History of the late Revolution of the Dominions of the Great Mogul" and his letters dealing with divers subjects regarding Hindusthan, are invaluable records of the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb. But Tavernier's *Travels* give us most graphic and accurate account of the internal state of affairs, trade, produce, money, exchange, conveyance and routes of

communication &c. of India during the seventeenth century. 'Tavernier's descriptions are explicit and elaborate from a geographical point of view.' But as regards the political history of the country, 'Tavernier's attempts have been proved to be futile. Many of his historical facts are inaccurate, sometimes exaggerated and his descriptions jejune. Besides, he has made certain statements, *viz.*, the incest of Shah Jehan with his eldest daughter Jehanara, p. 284 (Begum Saheb), which is very hard to believe in absence of some positive proof. Bernier lived for many years at Shah Jehan's Court ; it may, therefore, be safely presumed that he certainly knew this outrageous incest. Had it been the case nothing would have deterred him to mention it in his narrative ; but then he is silent about the incest of the father and eloquent about other amorous intrigues of the daughters. Vide Bernier's *Travels*, p. 10, 120.

The reason why his attempts to depict the history of the country in which he travelled almost from town to town for more than twenty-five years, have been unsuccessful, seems to be that he had not the eye of a keen observer in political matters. Moreover, perhaps he did not think it worth while to take down correct notes from time to time of the principal political events daily happening around him. A most superficial reader will at once detect that his facts are gathered from hearsay evidence. Who acquainted him with these facts ? It is no other than Monseieur Bernier. Probably he heard the details from Bernier when they were travelling together from Agra towards Bengal in November, 1665. The readers of these two *Travels*

will be struck with the similarity between them. "There is so much similarity", says Dr. Ball, "between this account and that by Bernier in his *Histoire de la dernier revolution des Etats du Grand Mogul*, Paris, 1670, that it can not but be supposed that that author supplied Tavernier with information, either when they were fellow travellers or after Bernier had published his *History*." But we are rather inclined to believe that his former hypothesis is sufficient to account for the similarity. See also our *foot-note*, p. 242.

In this book Tavernier mentions Bernier several times when they were both fellow travellers from Agra to Bengal see pp. 92-93. On the 21st December, 1665, they arrived at Patna. They along with some Hollanders drank the luxurions beverage *shirazi* in the open street of Patna and made themselves *en vivant*, see p. 98. They parted at Dinapore (Donapour) on the 6th January 1666, Bernier starting for Cossimbazar and thence to Hughli (Ogouli) and Tavernier for Dacca, pp. 100-101. But Tavernier has perhaps paid him the highest compliment when he mentions his name in connection with the flight of Prince Dara Shekho. For Tavernier says :

"As he (Dara) approached Ahmadabad, Monsieur Bernier, a French physician, who was on his way to Agra to visit the Court of the Great Mogul, and who is well-known to all the world as much by his personal merit as by the charming accounts of his travels, was of great assistance to one of the wives of this Prince who was attacked with erysipelas in one leg. Dara Shah, having learnt that an accomplished European physician was at hand, sent immediately for him, and Monsieur Bernier went to his tent, where he saw this lady and examined into her ailment, for which he gave a remedy

and quick relief."* See also Bernier's *Travels* (Bangabasi Series) pp. 86-87.

It is strange that Bernier has not even mentioned the name of J. B. Tavernier in his history or letters,

A few remarks of Mr. Edmund Everard "who had the occasion to be more particularly acquainted with Monsieur Tavernier himself, his native tongue, and other particularities abroad," will not be out of place here. Mr. Everard says :

"But among all the ancient and modern travellers, none had such fair opportunities and advantages as the illustrious Monsieur Tavernier had, to make a true, profitable, and exact relation of the singularities of those remote parts of Asia, where he passed so many years in great splendour, as shall appear by the ensuing considerations and qualifications of a good traveller."

Here are some of those "considerations and qualifications":

"And whereas learning and riches do sometimes render narrow souls of a more proud and unsociable temper, Monsieur Tavernier is by nature and education, an obliging, cheerful, and insinuating traveller, and of a graceful countenance. Comely personages are beloved almost as soon as they are seen; and those that have but fair souls, are not so till after they are known. Now Monsieur Tavernier having both these advantages, had a free entrance into the friendship and notions the Indians (great or small) had concerning

* By some strange accident the above extract is totally omitted in the edition of which the present book is a facsimilie re-print. Mr. John Phillips, the original translator, has omitted many passages. An entire chapter containing the "Terms of the Passport which the Nawab Shaiſta Khan sent to the Author, with some letters which he wrote to him, and the 'replies to them, in which the style of these countries manifests itself" has been eliminated: see the *Travels in India* by V. Ball, LL. D., F. R. S., F. G. S., vol. I. p. 401. The whole of the above extract will be found in p. 349 of the same volume.

the natural, mechanical, political, religious, and trading state of their country, which he made more his business to know, than to grow more rich. And at some times he would reckon thousands of pounds as nothing to attain his ends in this point of knowledge and further experience."

Mr. Everârd says that naturalists, statesmen and travellers will reap immense benefit from Tavernier's relations. As to the religion and morals of the Indians, he says :

"The Divine will see things worth his observation in their religion and morals, wherein they may confound the very Christians ; whereof I will only touch but thus much : that by the light of nature those heathens own a Supreme Deity, and a future state of happiness and torments ; and do in view of the same most strictly keep the civil and the Ten Moral Commandments, much answerable to ours, which their Prophets have left to them so that they punish murder and adultery even in Princes and Princesses ; terrible examples whereof you may here read at large. And the Church and State Government are subservient in a subordination, the one being a prop to the other."

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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TAVERNIER'S *Travels* were first published in the French language in 1676. Since then some 22 different editions have been published in the same language. The first English translation was published in 1677. Professor Joret, the biographer of Monsieur J. B. Tavernier, asserts that another edition prior to the one stated above and presumably the first English translation, was published in 1676. Dr. V. Ball, the excellent modern translator and editor of Tavernier's *Travels*, (Messrs. Macmillan & Co.) however, says: "I can find no confirmation of the existence of an edition by Phillips dated 1676, which is given by Professor Joret." There are altogether 10 different English editions. From the title pages (*Ed.* 1677 & 1678) we know that the book was "made English by J. P." The "J" is printed like the letter "F," and Prof. Joret has erroneously quoted as such. The English translator, "J. P." was no other than John Phillips Esquire, a nephew of the greatest epic poet John Milton, his mother having been Milton's sister.

The present edition is a facsimile re-print of the folio edition of 1678 with the following title page :

"The Six | Voyages | of | John Baptista Tavernier, | Baron of Aubonne ; | through | Turky into Persia, | and the | East-Indies, | for the space of Forty Years. | Giving an | account of the present state of those countries, *viz.* of the | Religion, Government, Customs and Commerce of every | country ; and the

figures, weight and the value of the money our | rent
all over Asia. | To which is added | The Description
of the Seraglio. | Made English by J. P. | Added
likewise | A Voyage into the Indies, &c.—| By an
English Traveller, never before printed | London |
Printed, and sold by Robert Littleburry, at the | King's-
Arms in Little Britain, and | Moses Pitt, at the Angel
in St. | Paul's Church-yard | 1678."

In this volume we find only M. Tavernier's
Persian Travels, pp. 1-264; *An account of the
Money in Asia*, Part II. pp. 1-13 and *Travels in
India*, Part II. pp. 15-208. "The Description of the
Seraglio" and "A Voyage into the Indies, &c.—"
stated to have been added, however, are not to be
found. The copy which is in our possession contains
a "second volume." In this volume we find :

"Collections | of | Travels | through | Turkey into
Persia, and the East-Indies | giving an account &c. &c.
together | with a Relation of the kingdom of Japan
and Tunkin | &c. to which is added | a new descrip-
tion of the Grand Seigneur's Seraglio | and also of all the
kingdoms that encompass the Euxine and the Caspian
Seas | being | the Travels of Monsieur Tavernier
Bernier | and other great men : adorned with many copper
plates."

This volume is also printed by Moses Pitt but
not with Robert Littleburry, in 1684. It contains a
preface by Edmund Everard at the beginning of
Tavernier's brochure, *A Relation of Japon* in which
Mr. Everard introduces M. Tavernier to the readers,
highly eulogises his vast knowledge and experience.
Mr. Everard says that, "in this work was employed
the help of another Worthy Gentleman, who labour-
ed in the first volume of Tavernier's Translation ; but
it was brought to an end and perfection by me, who
had the occasion to be more particularly acquainted

with Monsieur Tavernier himself, his Native Tongue, and other particularities abroad." This volume contains "A Short Description of all the Kingdoms which Encompass the Euxine and the Caspian Seas," at the end pp. 101-113. It is dated 1677 and is written by one "Astrachan" who was an Irishman. It is also dedicated to an English Nobleman. This brochure is presumably the "Voyage into the Indies by an English Traveller, never before printed." This title, however, is erroneous because the brochure contains no mention of India. The paper on the Euxine, &c., is prefixed by a special "Publisher unto the Reader," pp. 95-100, but the writer's name is not given. Dr. Ball supposes that perhaps the writer was either John Phillips or Dr. Cox. The "worthy gentleman" who assisted Mr. Edmund Everard in translating the book was, says Dr. Ball, "presumably John Phillips, the translator of the previous editions. Whether his character justified this description is doubtful." This second volume also contains Bernier's "Travels," "A Relation of Japon," "A Relation of the Negotiation of the Deputies, &c.," "Observations upon the Trade of the East-Indies," "The Commodities of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, &c.," "A New and Particular Relation of the Kingdom of Tunquin, Formosa, &c." and "A New Relation of the inner part of the Grand Seigneur's Seraglio," mentioned on the title page of the first volume of 1678.

Besides French and English, Tavernier's *Travels* have been translated into : (1) German (first ed. 1681) (2) Dutch (first ed. 1682) and (3) Italian (first ed. 1682) languages.

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TAYERNIER'S TRAVELS IN INDIA.

THE FIRST BOOK.

What roads to take, in travelling from Ispahan to Agra, from Agra to Dehly and Gehanabatt, where the Great Mogul resides at present: and how to travel also to the Court of the King of Golconda; to the King of Visapour, and to many other places in the Indies.

CHAPTER I.

The road, from Ispahan to Agra through Gornion where is particularly described the manner of sailing from Ormus to Surat.

IN this relation of my Indian, I will observe the same method as in the recital of my *Persian Travels*; and begin with the description of the roads, which lead you from Ispahan to Dehly and Gehanabatt, where the Great Mogul resides at present.

Though the Indies stretch themselves from Persia for the space of above 400 leagues together, from the ocean to that long chain of mountains that runs through the middle of Asia from the east to the

west, and which was known to antiquity by the name of Mount Caucasus, or Mount Taurus; yet there are not so many ways to travel out of Persia into the Indies, as there are to travel out of Turkey into Persia; by reason that between Persia and the Indies there are nothing but vast sands and deserts, where there is no water to be found. So that you have but two roads to choose, in going from Ispahan to Agra. The one is partly by land, and partly by sea; taking ship at Ormus. The other altogether by land, through Candahar. The first of these two roads is amply described, as far as Ormus, at the end of my first book of my *Persian Travels*. So that I am now only to speak of the manner of sailing from Ormus to Suratt.

There is no sailing at all times upon the Indian as upon the European seas: you must observe the proper seasons, which being elapsed, there is no more venturing. The months of November, December, January, February and March, are the only months in the year to embark from Ormus to Suratt; and from Suratt to Ormus. but with this difference, that there is no stirring from Suratt after the end of February; but you may sail from Ormus till the end of March, or the fifteenth of April: for then the western-winds, that bring rain along with them into India, begin to blow. During the first four months there blows a north-east-wind which carries them from Suratt to Ormus in fifteen or twenty days. Then veering a little to the north, it serves as well for those that are bound for Suratt as those that are bound from thence. Then the merchants generally provide for a voyage of thirty, or five and thirty days. But if they would sail

from Ormus to Suratt in fourteen or fifteen days, they must take shipping either in March, or at the beginning of April; for then the western-wind blows full in their stern.

The vessels which sail from Ormus run within sight of Mascate upon the coast of Arabia, bearing off to sea for fear of coming too near the Persian coast. They that come from Suratt, do the same thing, to make the entry of the Gulf. But neither the one nor the other touch at Mascate, to avoid paying customs to an Arabian Prince, who took that place from the Portugals.

Mascate is a city situate just by the sea-side, over against three rocks that make the entry into the harbour very difficult, and at the foot of a mountain upon which the Portugals have three or four forts. It is observed that Mascate, Ormus, and Balsara, are the three places in the east where the heat is most insupportable. Formerly only the Hollanders and English understood this course of navigation; but some years after the Armenians, Mahometans, Indians, and Banians have built them vessels. But it is not so safe to embark in them, for they neither understand the sea so well, nor are they so good pilots.

The vessels that sail to Suratt, which is the only part in the Empire of the Great Mogul, sail within sight of Diu, and the Point of St. John, and come to an anchor afterwards in the Road of Couali, which is not above four leagues from Suratt, and two from the mouth of the river toward the north. They transport their wares from one place to another, either by waggons, or in boats. For great vessels cannot get into the river of Suratt

till they have unladen, by reason of the sands that choke it up. The Hollanders return as soon as they have landed their wares at Couali, and so do the English, it not being permitted to either to enter into the river. But some years since, the King has given the English a place to winter in, during the rainy seasons.

Suratt is a city of an indifferent bigness, defended by a pitiful fortress, by the foot whereof you must pass, whether you go by land or by water. It has four towers at the four corners, and in regard there are no platforms upon the walls, guns are planted upon wooden scaffolds. The Governor of the fort only commands the soldiers in the fort, but has no power in the city, which has a particular Governor to receive the King's customs, and other revenues through the extent of his province.

The walls of the town are only of earth, and the generality of the houses like barns, being built of reeds, plastered with cow-dung, to cover the void spaces, and to hinder them without from discerning between the reeds what is done within. In all Suratt there be but nine or ten houses which are well built : whereof the Cha-bander, or chief of the merchants, has two or three. The rest belong to the Mahumetan merchants ; nor are those, wherein the English and Hollanders dwell, less beautiful ; every president, and every commander, being careful to repair them ; which they put upon the account of their companies. However, they do but hire those houses ; the King not suffering any Frank to have an house of his own, for fear he should make a fortress of it. The Capuchin friars have built them a very convenient convent, according to the model

of our European houses, and a fair church ; for the building of which, I furnished them with good part of the money. But the purchase was made in the name of a Maronite merchant of Aleppo, whose name was Chelebi, of whom I have spoken in my Persian relations.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Customs, Money, Exchange, Weights and Measures of the INDIANS.

To avoid repetitions, which cannot be shunned in the course of long travels ; it behoves me to let the reader understand what belongs to the custom house, money, exchange, weights and measures of the Indians.

When your commodities are unladen at Suratt, you must carry them to the custom-house adjoining to the fort. They are very severe, and very exact in searching the people. Particular merchants pay from four to five per cent at the custom-house for all sorts of ware. But for the English and Holland-Company, they pay less : but I believe if they did but cast up what it costs them in deputations and presents which they are obliged every year to send to the Court, they would not pay much less for their wares, than particular merchants.

Gold and silver pay two in the hundred, and when it is brought into the custom-house, the Master of the Mint comes and takes it, and coins it

into the money of the country. They agree with him upon the day wherein he will undertake to return the new peices : and for so many days as he makes them stay after that, he pays them interest, according to the proportion of the silver which he receives. The Indians are very subtle and crafty in matters of money and payments ; three or four years after the silver is coined, it loses half per cent. And goes at the same rate as old silver ; for, say they, it is impossible but that it should lose in passing through so many hands. You may carry all sorts of silver into the dominions of the Great Mogul. For in all the frontier cities there is a mint, where it is purified to the highest perfection, as is all the gold and silver in India, by the King's command, and coined into money. Silver in bars, or old plate, which is bought without paying for the fashion, is the silver by which you shall lose least : for as for coined silver, there is no avoiding the loss of the coinage. All their bargains are made, with a condition to pay in coined silver within the present year. And if you make payment in old silver, you must resolve to lose according to the time since it was first coined. In all places far remote from cities, where the vulgar people have no great knowledge in silver : and where there are no changers, they will not receive a piece of silver, without putting it into the fire, to try whether it be good or no ; and this is the common practice at all ferries and passages over rivers. In regard their boats are only made of osier, covered over with an ox-hide, and by consequence are very light ; they keep them in the woods, and will not take them upon their shoulders, till they have received their money.

As for their gold, the merchants have so many cunning tricks to hide it, that it seldom comes to the knowledge of the customers. They do all they can to shift off paying the customs ; and that, so much the rather, because they do not run so much hazard as at the custom-house of Europe. For in the Indian custom-houses, if a man be caught in the fraud, he is quitted by paying double ; ten in the hundred, instead of five the King comparing the venture of the merchant to a game at hazard, where he plays quite or double. The King had granted to the English Captains, that they should not be searched when they came ashore. But one day one of the English Captains going to Tata, one of the greatest cities in India, a little above the mouth of the river Indou, as he was going to pass the river, he was stopped by the officers of the custom-house, who searched and rifled him, whatever he could allege to the contrary. They found gold about him, of which he had already carried off several quantities, at several times, that he had gone from his ship to the city ; but they quitted him, upon paying the usual custom. The Englishman, vexed at such an affront, resolved to revenge himself ; which he did after a very pleasant manner. He caused a sucking-pig to be roasted, and putting it together with the dripping, and sauce, in a China-platter, covered with a lincloth, he gave it a slave to bring along after him to the city ; imagining what would fall out. As it passed before the custom-house, while the Governors or the Cha-bander, and the Mint-Masters were sitting in the divan, they failed not to stop him ; and as the slave went forward with the plate covered, they told his master that he must come into the custom-house,

and that they must see what he carried. The more the Englishman cried, that the slave carried nothing that paid any duties, the less he was believed ; so that after a long debate he took the plate from his slave, and carried it himself into the divan ; the Governor and the Cha-bander, gravely asked him, why he would not be obedient to the laws ? Upon which the Englishman, replying in a great heat, that he carried nothing which paid any duty, threw the pig among them with such a fury, that the sauce and pig flew all upon their garments. Now in regard that swine's flesh is an abomination to the Mahometans, who believe everything defiled that touches it ; they were forced to change their clothes, take down the tapestry of the divan, to pull down the divan itself, and build another, not daring to say any thing to the Englishman ; for the Cha-bander, and Mint-Master are very observant to the Company, by whom they reap a great deal of profit. As for what concerns the heads of the Companies, as well English, as Dutch, and their associates, they have so great a respect for them, that they never search them at all, when they come ashore ; though they will not stick to conceal their gold, like particular merchants, and to carry it about them. The trade of Tata, formerly very great, begins now to decay, because the mouth of the river grows more dangerous, and full of shallows every day more than other, the sand-hills having almost choked it up.

The English finding they had learned the trick of rifling their cloths, studied out other little ways and contrivances to conceal their gold : and the fashion of wearing periwigs being newly come out

of Europe, they hid their jacobuses, rose-nobles, and ducats in the net of their periwigs, every time they came ashore.

There was a merchant that had a mind to convey some boxes of coral into Suratt, without the knowledge of the customers. He swam then into the town, some days before the ship was unladen, when it might be done securely before the customers had any suspicion of any thing. But the merchant repented him afterwards, the commodity being spoiled. For the water of Suratt river being always thick and muddy, there clung to the coral, which had lain a long time in the water, a slime like a white crust or skin, which was difficult to be got off; so that after the coral was polished, he lost by it above twelve per cent.

I come now to the money which goes for current through the whole extent of the Great Mogul's dominions; and to all the sorts of gold and silver, which is carried thither in ingots to make profit thereof. *

In the first place you must observe that it is very profitable to buy gold and silver which has been wrought, to melt it into ingots, and to refine it to the highest purity: for being refined, you pay not for the portage of the alloy, which was mixed with it before: and carrying the gold and silver in wedges, you pay neither to the Prince nor to the Mint what they exact for coinage. If you carry coined gold, the best pieces are jacobuses, rose-nobles, albertuses, and other ancient pieces, as well of Portugal, as of other countries, and all sorts of gold that have been coined in former ages. For by all those old pieces the merchant is sure to gain.

You may also reckon for good gold, and which is proper to be carried thither, all the ducats of Germany, as well those coined by the several Princes, as by the imperial towns, together with the ducats of Poland, Hungary, Swedeland and Denmark ; and indeed all sorts of ducats are taken to be of the same goodness. The Venetian ducats of gold formerly passed for the best, and were worth four or five of our sous, more than any others ; but about a dozen years ago they seem to have been altered, not going now for any more than the rest. There are also ducats which the Grand Seignior coins at Cairo, and those of Sally, and Morocco : but these three sorts are not so good as the others, and are not worth so much as they by four sous of our money.

Over all the empire of the Great Mogul, all the gold and silver is weighed with weights, which they call *tolla* ; which weigh nine deniers, and eight grains of our weights. When they have any quantity of gold and silver to sell, the Indians use yellow copper weights, with the King's mark, to avoid cousenage. And with these weights they weigh all the gold and silver at once, provided it amount not to above a hundred *tollas*. For the changers have no other weights, but from one *tolla* to a hundred ; and a hundred *tollas* come to 38 ounces, 21 deniers, and 8 grains. As for the gold and silver which is not coined, if there be much, they assay it ; and having put it to the touch, they bid to the utmost value to out-vie one another.

In regard there are some merchants that have above forty or fifty thousand ducats at a time,

the Indians weigh them with a weight which is just the weight of a hundred ducats, which is also marked with the King's mark ; and if the hundred ducats weigh less than the weights, they put in so many little stones • till the scales are even ; and after all is weighed, they make good to the changer the weight of those little stones. But before they weigh these gold coins, whether they be ducats or other pieces, they put the whole quantity into a charcoal-fire, till they be red-hot ; and then quench the fire with water, and take them out again. This they do to find out them which are false, and to melt off the wax and gum, which is cunningly dropt upon them to make them weigh the more. But because there are some pieces so artfully hollowed and stopt up again, that you cannot perceive it, though they have been in the fire, the changers take the pieces, and bend them ; by which they know whether they be good or no ; and those which they suspect they cut in pieces. After they have viewed them all, they refine those which they do not take to be good, and pay for so much as proves to be good, as for good ducats. All this gold they coin into that sort of money which they call roupies of gold ; except those ducats, which are stamped only upon one side, which they sell to the merchants that come from Tartary, and other northern parts, as from the kingdoms of Boutan, Asen, and other remote parts. With these ducats the women of those countries chiefly adorn themselves, hanging them upon their head attire, and fixing them upon their foreheads. As for the other ducats, that have no figures, they are not so much as enquired after by the northern merchants.

As for all the other pieces of gold, there are great quantities of them sold to the goldsmiths, to the gold-wyar-drawers, and in general to all that work in gold. For if they could put their metal unmade into roupies, they would never coin; which they can only do at the coronation of their Kings to throw silver roupies among the people; or to sell them to the Governuros of the provinces, and other grandees of the court, who then want great quantities of them to present to the new King at his first coming to his throne. For they have not always jewels or other things rich enough to present him, as well at that time, as at another festival, of which I shall speak in due place, when they weigh the King every year. At such times I say, they are very glad of gold roupies; as also to present to such favourites at the court, by whose interest they hope to gain higher commands, and more considerable governments.

In one of my travels, I found by experience the virtue of these roupies of gold. Cha-jehan, father of Orang-zeb who now reigns, had given to one of the lords of his court, the government of the province of Tata, whereof Symdi is the metropolis. Now though the very first year of his government, there were very great complaints made against him, by reason of the tyranny which he exercised over his people, and his great extortions, the King suffered him to continue four years, and then recalled him. All the people of Tata were overjoyed, believing the King had called him away, only to put him to death; but it fell out quite otherwise; for the King caressed him, and gave him the government of Halabas, more considerable than that which he had quitted. This

kind reception, which he had at the King's hands, proceeded from this, that before he came to Agra, he had sent before him a present of 50,000 roupies of gold, and about 20,000 roupies of gold more to Begum Saheb, who had then the whole power in her hands; as also to other ladies and lords at the court, to support his reputation. All the courtiers are very desirous to have a great quantity of gold; because it lies in a little room, and then because they covet, as a great honour, to leave vast sums behind them, to their wives and children, of which the King must not know. For as I shall tell you in another place, when any great lord dies, the King is heir to all his estate; his wife having no more than his jewels.

But to return to our roupies of gold; you must take notice, that they are not so current among the merchants. For in regard one of them is not worth above fourteen roupies, which make one and twenty livres of our money, at thirty sous the roupie, and that there are few of these roupies of gold to be had, but in the houses of great men; when it falls out that they make any payment, they will put them at a roupie of silver, or at least at a fourth part of a roupie more than it is worth, which will never turn to the merchant's profit. Cha-est-Kan the King's uncle, to whom I had sold a parcel of goods at 26,000 roupies, when he came to pay me, asked me what money I would be content to take, whether gold or silver. Before I could return him an answer, he added, that if I would leave it to him, I should take gold roupies: nor did he give me this advice, but because he believed it would turn to his advantage: I told him I would be ruled by him; thereupon he caused his servants to tell me out

so many roupies in gold, as made up the just sum which was due : but he would force me to take the roupie in gold for fourteen roupies and an half in silver, though among the merchants they went but for fourteen. I was not ignorant of it ; but I thought it best to receive my money according to the Prince's humour, in hopes he might make me amends another time, either for the whole, or part of what I might lose. I let him alone two days, after which I went to him again, and told him I had tried to put off his roupies at the price I had received them ; so that in the payment of 96,000 roupies, I had lost 3,428 and one 16th. the roupies of gold which he forced me to take at fourteen roupies and an half of silver, being worth but fourteen. Thereupon he fell into a passion, and told me he would see as many lashes bestowed upon the changer, or Holland-broker, whose fault soever it were ; that he would teach them to understand money ; that they were old roupies, and were worth more by a sixteenth part of a silver roupie, than the roupies which were coined at that time. In regard I knew the humour of the Asiatic Princes, with whom there is no contesting. I let him say what he pleased ; but when he came to himself, and began to put on a smiling look, I desired him that he would be pleased to let me return the sum which I had received, the next day ; or else that he would be pleased to pay me what was wanting, and that I would take a roupie at 14 and one 16th. since he assured me they were worth so much. The Prince for a while gave me a scurvy look, not so much as speaking one word. At length he asked me, whether I had still the pearl, which

he had refused to buy. I told him I had, and immediately pulled it out of my bosom, and gave it him. The pearl was large, and of a good water, but ill-shaped; which was the reason he refused it before. When I had given it to him, "well", said he, "let us talk no more of what is past; how much will you have, in a word, for this pearl?" I asked him seven thousand roupies, and indeed rather than I would have carried it into France, I would have taken three. "If I give thee", said he, "seven thousand roupies for this pearl, I shall make thee amends for the loss thou complainest of in the first bargain. Come to-morrow, and I will give thee five thousand roupies, and that's very fair: thou shalt have also a Calaat and an horse." I made my obeisance to him, and desired him to give me an horse that should be young, and fit for service, because I had a great journey to take. The next day he sent me a robe, a cloak, two girdles, and a cap; which is all the apparel that the Princes are wont to give to those to whom they intend any honour. The cloak and robe was of satin purpled with gold; the two girdles striped with gold and silver; the cap was of Calicut, dyed into a flame-colour, with stripes of gold: the horse had no saddle, but was covered with a green velvet foot-cloth, edged about with a small silver-fringe. The bridle was very strait, with silver-studs in some places. I believe the horse had never been backed; for so soon as I brought him to the Holland-House, where I then lodged, a young man got upon his back; but he was no sooner on, but the horse flung and pranced at that rate, that having kicked down an hut that stood in the court, he had like to have killed the Hollander. Finding that such a resty-horse

was not for my turn, I sent him back to Cha-est-Kan, and relating the story to him, I told him I did not believe that he desired I should return into my country to bring him back some rarities which I had promised him, as he made me believe he did. All the while I talked, he laughed, and afterwards sent for the horse which his father in his lifetime used to ride upon. It was a tall Persian horse, that had formerly cost five thousand crowns, but was then twenty eight years old. They brought him bridled, and saddled, and the Prince would needs have me get up in his presence. He had one of the most stately walks that ever I knew in a horse. and when I alighted, "well", said he, "art thou satisfied? I dare say, that horse will never give thee a fall." I thanked him, and at the same time took my leave of him; and the next day, before my departure, he sent me a great basket of apples. It was one of the six that Cha-jehan had sent him, as they came from the kingdom of Kachemir; there was in the basket also a great Persian melon: all this might be worth a hundred roupies, which I persented to the Holland Commander's wife. As for the horse I rode him to Golconda, where I sold him for five hundred roupies, as old as he was, being a good lusty beast.

To return to our discourse of money, I will add this to what I have said already, that you must never carry louis's of gold to the Indies, nor Spanish nor Italian pistols, nor any other sort of money coin within these few years; for there is great loss by it; for the Indians refine all, and count only upon the refinings. Lastly, every one strives to steal the custom of their gold; and when the merchant

has got the knack of concealing it, he may gain five or six of our sous in every ducat.

I come now to the sorts of silver money ; which you must distinguish into money of the country, and foreign money : and first of the foreign coins.

The foreign silver coins which are carried in to the Indies, are the rixdollars of Germany, and the reals of Spain. The first are brought by the merchants that come from Poland, from the lesser Tartary, and the borders of Muscovia. The others by those that come from Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo, and the greatest part by the Armenians, who sell their silk into Europe. All these merchants endeavour to convey their silver through Persia without being discovered ; for if the customers find it out, they will be forced to carry their silver to the Mint-Masters to be coined into Abassies, which is the King's coin ; these Abassies being carried into India, are again coined into roupies, whereby the merchant loses ten and a quarter per cent. As well by reason of the coinage, as by paying the King's duties in Persia.

To let you understand in a few words, how they came to lose this ten and a quarter per cent from Persia to the Indies, and sometimes more, according to the nature of the reals, which they usually carry into Persia ; you must call to mind, what I have already said concerning the money and exchanges of Persia, in the first volume. I observed, that a real in Persia goes for 23 Chaez, which make three Abassies, and a quarter ; and that sometimes, when silver is scarce, they will give a Chaez and a half for one. That the Abassi is worth four Chaez, and the Toman fifty Abassies, or two hundred Chaez. If

you carry six Tomans and a half to the Indies, you have for every Toman twenty-nine **roupies** and a half; and consequently for six Tomans and a half, a hundred, and ninety-one roupies and a quarter. If you carry to the Indies reals of Seville, for a hundred, you shall have from 213 to 215-roupies. It you carry Mexican reals, for a hundred you shall have no more than 212. So that when for a hundred reals you have but two hundred and twelve roupies, you gain ten reals and a quarter, in an hundred reals; but by the Sevillian reals you profit eleven per cent.

There are three or four sorts of Spanish reals, and they give for a hundred according to their goodness, from 218 to 214 and 215 roupies. The best of all are those of Sevil for when they are full weight, they will give for a hundred, 213 roupies; and sometimes 215, according as silver is either scarce or plentiful.

The real of Spain ought to weigh three drams, seven grains and a half more than two roupies. But the silver of the roupies is much better. For the roupy is in weight eleven deneers and fourteen grains; but the Sevil real, like our white crown, is but just eleven deneers. The Mexican real goes at ten deneers and twenty-one grains. For the Spanish real, that weighs seventy-three vals, you have four mamoudies and a half, and one mamoudi is worth twenty *pechaes*; but they must be very good, and as I have said already, seventy-three vals in weight: eighty-one vals making an ounce, one val coming to seven deneers.

For the rixdollars of Germany, in regard they are heavier than the reals, they will give you for an

hundred, as high as an hundred and sixteen roupies. Where you are to take notice, that in giving for an hundred reals, or an hundred rixdollars, two hundred and fifteen, or two hundred and sixteen roupies, it seems that every roupy ought to be worthless than thirty sous. But if the merchant count the portage of the silver, and the customs, he will find that every roupy will stand him in more. But that the merchant may make his profit, he must take notice, that all the reals of Mexico, and those of Sevil, are in weight one and twenty deneers and eight grains, that is, five hundred and twelve grains; and for those that are no better than our white crown, they are to be in weight one and twenty deneers and three grains, which makes five hundred and nine grains. All dollars and reals are weighed, a hundred at a time, and when they are wanting in weight, they add little stones, as when they weigh gold, according to what I shall tell you by and by.

We come now to the money of the country. The Indian money is the silver roupy, the half, quarter, eighteenth and sixteenth part. The weight of the roupy is nine deneers and one grain; the value of the silver is eleven deneers and fourteen grains. They have also another sort of silver money, which they call *mamoudies*, but this goes no-where but in Surat, and in the province of Guzerat.

The Indians have also a sort of small copper money, which is called *pecha*; which is worth about two of our liards, a liard being the fourth part of a sous. There is also the half *pecha*, two *pechaes*, and four *pechaes*. According to the custom of the province where you travel, you have for a roupy

of silver more or less of these *pechques*. In my last travels, a roupy went at Surat for nine and forty *pechaes*. But the time was, when it was worth fifty, and another time, when it went but for six and forty. At Agra and Gehanabat, the roupy was valued at fifty-five and fifty-six *pechaes*. And the reason is, because the nearer you go to the copper mines, the more *pechaes* you have for a roupy. As for the mamoudi, it is always valued at forty *pechaes*.

There are two other sorts of small money in the dominions of the Great Mogul, which are little bitter almonds and shells. These little bitter almonds, which are brought out of Persia, are only made use of in the province of Guzerat; as I have observed in the first part of my relations. They grow in dry and barren places amongst the rocks, and the tree, that bears them, is almost like our bastard Spanish broom. They call these almonds *baden*: nor is there any *coloquintida* so bitter. They give for a *pecha* sometimes thirty-five, and sometimes forty.

Their other small money are the little shells which they call *cori*; the sides whereof turn circularly inward: nor are they to be found in any part of the world, but in the Maldives islands. They are the greatest part of the revenue of the King of that Island. For they are transported into all the territories of the Great Mogul; into the kingdom of Visapour and Golconda; and into the islands of America to serve instead of money. Near the sea they give 80 for a *pecha*. But the farther you go from the sea, the less you have; so that at Agra, they will not give you above 50 or 55

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Over all the Empire of the Great Mogul and in other parts of India the Idolaters, though they differ in their languages, make use of these sort of Cifers

1	१	11	११	21	२१	31	३१	41	४१
2	२	12	१२	22	२२	32	३२	42	४२
3	३	13	१३	23	२३	33	३३	43	४३
4	४	14	१४	24	२४	34	३४	44	४४
5	५	15	१५	25	२५	35	३५	45	४५
6	६	16	१६	26	२६	36	३६	46	४६
7	७	17	१७	27	२७	37	३७	47	४७
8	८	18	१८	28	२८	38	३८	48	४८
9	९	19	१९	29	२९	39	३९	49	४९
10	१०	20	२०	30	३०	40	४०	50	५०

१००	100	१०००	100
१०००	10000	२००००	20000
१०००००	100000	१००००००	1000000

for a *pecha*. As to what remains according to the accompt of the Indians,

100,000 roupies make a *Lekke*.

100,000 *Lekks* make a *Kraur*.

100,000 *Kraur's* a *Pudan*.

100,000 *Pudan's* make a *Ril*.

In the Indies, the village must be very small, where there does not reside a banker, whom they call *cheraff*; whose business it is to remit money and Bills of Exchange.* In regard that these bankers hold a correspondence with the Governors of the Province, they raise as they please themselves, the roupie for the *pechaes*, and the *pechaes* for the shells. All the Jews that deal in money and exchange in the empire of the Grand Seignior, are accounted a most subtle sort of people. But in the Indies they would be scarce thought fit to be apprentices to these bankers. They have one very bad custom in making of payments: and I have already observed it, in reference to their roupies of gold. When they make any payment in that sort of money, they tell you, it was a great while ago that any silver roupie was coined; that they are worth less than those which are new, or but lately coined; for that by passing through many hands they wear away; and become lighter. And therefore when you make any bargain, you must always agree to be paid in roupies *Chajenni*, that is, in new silver; otherwise, they will pay you in roupies coined some fifteen or twenty years ago, and upward; whereby you will lose four in the hundred. For they will have one fourth, or

* Here M. Tavernier gives a list of European systems of notation and those used in India, which he calls "cifera." See the facsimile reprint in Appendix.

at least one eighth per cent allowed for those that were coined but two years before : so that the poor people that cannot read the year wherein the roupies were coined, are subject to be cheated ; for they will always abate a *pecha* or a half a *pecha* upon a roupie, or three or four *cories* upon a *pecha*.

As for counterfeit silver, there is very little amongst them. If you receive one false roupie in a bag from any particular person, it is better to cut it to pieces, and lose it, than to speak of it ; for if it should come to be known, there might be danger in it. For you are commanded by the King's law to return the bag where you received it ; and to return it from one to another, till you can find out the counterfeiter ; who if he be apprehended, is only sentenced to lose his hand. If the counterfeiter cannot be found, and that it be thought that he who paid the money is not guilty, he is acquitted upon some small amercement. This brings great profit to the changers. For when there is any sum of money received or paid, the merchants cause him to look it over, and for their pains, they have one sixteenth of a roupie in the hundred.

As for the money which is paid out of the *Sarquet*, or King's Exchequer, there is never any found that is counterfeit : for all the money that is carried in thither, is exactly viewed by the King's bankers : the great lords have also their particular bankers. Before they put up the money into the treasury, they throw it into a great charcoal-fire, and when the roupies are red-hot, they quench the fire, by throwing water upon it ; and then take out the money. If there be any piece that is white, or that has the least mark of alloy, it is presently cut in pieces. As often

as these roupies are carried into the treasury, they mark the pieces with a puncheon, which makes an hole, but not quite through ; and there are some pieces that have seven or eight holes made in that manner, to shew that they have been so many times in the exchequer. They are all put, a thousand pieces together, in a bag, sealed with the seal of the great treasurer, and the number of years superscribed, since they were coined. And here you are to take notice, whence the treasure's profit arises, as well that of the King's treasurer, as that of the particular treasurers of the great lords of the kingdom. When there is any bargain made, they agree for new roupies coined the same year : but when they come to receive the payment, the treasurers will make it in old roupies, wherein there is a loss of six per cent. So that if they will have new silver, the merchants must compound with the treasurer. In my fifth voyage, I went to visit Cha-est-Kan according to my promise, to let him have the first sight of what I brought along with me. So that as soon as I arrived at Surat, I sent him word ; and received his orders to meet him at Choupart, a city in the province of Deccan, to which he had laid siege. Coming to him, in a little time, and a few words, I sold him the greatest part of what I had brought along with me out of Europe : and he told me that he expected every day, that money should be sent him from Surat to pay the army, and to pay me also at the same time for what he had bought of me. I could not imagine, however, that so great a Prince as he, that commanded so great an army, had not store of money by him ; but rather conjectured, that he had an intention to make me some

abatement, upon those pieces which he would put upon me in payment, as he had served me before. It fell out, as I foresaw. But for provisions for my self, my men, and my horses, he took such order, that there was great plenty brought me, night and morning, and for the most part he sent for me my self, to his own table. Ten or twelve days thus past away, and not a word of the money that I expected : so that being resolved to take my leave of him, I went to his tent. He appeared to be somewhat surprised, and looking upon me with a frowning-brow : "Wherefore will you be gone," said he, "before you are paid? or who do you think, shall pay you afterwards, if you go away before you receive your money?" Upon these words, with a countenance as stern as his, "My King," replied I, "will see me paid. For his goodness is such, that he causes all his subjects to be paid; that have not received satisfaction for such goods as they sell in foreign countries." "And what course will he take?" answered he in a great choler : "With two or three stout men of war," said I, "which he will send either to the port of Surat, or towards the coasts to wait for the ships that come from Mocca." He seemed to be nettled at the reply, but not daring to give any more way to his choler, he ordered his treasurer immediately to give me a letter of exchange to Aurengabad. I was the more glad of that, because it was a place through which I was to pass in my way to Golconda; besides that, it would spare me the carriage and the hazards of my money. The next day I had my bill of exchange, and took leave of the Prince, who was nothing displeased, but told me, that if I returned to the Indies, I should not fail to come and see him, which I did

in my sixth and last voyage. When I came to Surat, he was at Bengala, where I sold him all the rest of my goods that I could not put off either to the King of Persia, or Great Mogul.

But to return to the payment of my money, I was no sooner arrived at Aurengabat, but I went to find the great Treasurer ; who no sooner saw me, but he told me, he knew wherefore I came ; that he had received letters of advice three days before, and that he had already taken the money out of the treasury to pay me. When he had brought me all the bags, I caused my Banker to open them, who saw them to be roupies, by which I was to lose two in the hundred. Upon that I thanked the Treasurer very heartily, telling him, I understood no such dealing, and that I would send and complain of him to Cha-est-Kan ; and declare to him that he should either give order that I should be paid in new silver, or else let me have my goods again, which I presently did. But not receiving an answer so soon as I knew I might have done, I went to the treasurer, and told him, I would go myself, and fetch away my goods. I believe he had received order what to do ; for seeing I was resolved to go ; he told me he was very unwilling I should put myself to so much trouble, and that it would be better for us to agree among ourselves. After many contests about the two in the hundred, which he would have made me lose, I was contented to abatè one, and had lost the other, had I not happily met with a Banker who wanted silver, and had a Bill of Exchange to pay at Golconda ; so that he was glad to make use of mine, and gave me a bill to be paid at Golconda, being my full sum, at fifteen days sight.

The changers to try their silver, make use of thirteen little pieces, one half copper, and the other silver, which are their sayes.* These thirteen pieces differing all in goodness, they never make use of them, but when any question arises concerning a small quantity of silver, or if any wrought silver. For they refine all their great quantities. All that kind of silver is brought by the weight which they call *tolla*, which weighs nine deneers, and eight grains, or 32 vales ; 81 vales, making an ounce : so that an hundred *tollas* making 38 ounces, 21 deneers, and 8 grains.

See here the differences of the thirteen goodnesses of silver.

The first, which is the lowest goodness, they take at fifteen *pechaes* to the Molla, which makes of our money nine sous, two deneers.

The second, at eighteen *pechaes*, which make ten sous two deneers.

The third, at ten *pechaes* which make twelve sous, six deneers.

The fourth, at thirteen *pechaes*, which make fourteen sous, six deneers.

The fifth, at sixteen *pechaes* which make fifteen sous, ten deneers.

The sixth, at nineteen *pechaes*, which make seventeen sous, six deneers.

The seventh, at thirty-three *pechaes*, which make nineteen sous, two deneers.

* See the diagram of the *Sayes* with the arrangement of thirteen say-pieces in Appendix.

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The eighth, at thirty-five *pechaes*, which make twenty sous, ten deneers.

The ninth, at thirty eight *pechaes*, which make twenty-two sous, six deneers.

The tenth at forty *pechaes*, which make twenty-four sous, ten deneers.

The eleventh, at forty-three *pechaes*, which make twenty-five sous, ten deneers.

The twelfth, at forty-six *pechaes*, which make twenty-seven sous, six deneers.

The thirteenth, at forty-nine *pechaes* which make nineteen sous, two deneers.

Here it will not be amiss to give you an hint, how far the cunning extends, not only of the Cheraffs or changers, but of all the Indians in general ; and it shall suffice to give you one example, which is very particular, and of which our Europeans make no account : which is this ; that of all the gold, which remains upon the stone upon which they make the assay, and of which we make no reckoning, they are so far from losing the least atom of that small matter, that they fetch it all off, by means of a ball made half of black-pitch, and half of soft-wax, with which they rub the stone that carries the gold ; at the end of some years the ball will shine, and then they get out all the gold that sticks to it. This ball is about the bigness of one of our tennis-balls ; and the stone is such a one as our goldsmiths generally use.

Thus much of the custom-houses and money current among the Indians. It remains to speak of their manner of exchange.

As all the goods which are made in the empire of the Great Mogul, and some part of the kingdoms

of Golconda and Visapour are brought to Surat to be transported into several parts of Asia and Europe ; the merchants, when they go from Surat to buy commodities in the several cities where they are made, as at Lahor, Agra, Amadabat, Seronga, Brampour, Dacca, Patna, Banarous, Golconda Decan, Visapour, and Dultabat, take up money at Surat, and are discharged at the places where they go, by giving kind for kind. But when it happens that the merchant is short of money in those places, and that there is a necessity for him to take up money to complete his markets, he must then return it at Surat within two months, paying monthly for the change.

From Lahor to Surat the exchange goes at six and a quarter per cent.

From Amadabat, from one, to one and an half.

From Seronga, at three.

From Brampour, from two and an half, to three.

From Dacca, at ten.

From Banarous, at six.

From the three last places they make their bills of exchange only to Agra ; and at Agra they make others for Surat, the whole at the same price as I have set down.

From Golconda, from four to five.

And for Goa the same.

From Decan at three.

From Visapour at three.

From Dultabat, from one to one and an half.

Some years the exchange rises from one to two per cent. by reason of certain Rajas or petty vassal Princes that disturb trade, every one pretending that the merchandizes ought to pass through his

country, and pay toll. There are two particularly between Agra and Amadabat, the one called the Raja of Antivar, and the other the Raja of Bergam, who very much molest the merchants for this very cause. But you may avoid passing through the territories of these Princes, taking another road from Agra to Surat, thorough Seronga and Brampour. But they are fertile lands, divided with several rivers, without bridges or boats, and it is impossible to go that way, till two months after the rains are fallen. Which is the reason that those merchants who must be at Surat when the season permits them to take the sea, are forced to pass through the territories of these two Rajas, because they can pass that way at all times, even in the time that the rains fall, which only knit and harden the sand.

Nor are you to wonder that the exchange runs so high ; for they that trust out their money, run the hazard, by obligation, of losing their money, if the merchants should be robbed.

When you come to Surat to embark, there is money enough. For it is the greatest trade of the grandees of the Indies to venture their money by sea from thence for Ormus, Balsara, and Mocca ; nay even as far as Bantam, Achen, and the Philippine Islands. For Mocca and Balsara, the change runs from 22 to 24 per cent. And to Ormus, from 16 to 20. And to the other places which I have named, the change runs proportionable to the distance.

I have but one word to say of their weights and measures ; I have given you in the margin* the fifth

* See the diagram in Appendix.

part of an ell of Agra, and the fourth part of an ell of Amadabat and Surat. As for their weights, the *men** is generally 69 pound, and the pound 16 ounces. But the *men* which they weigh their indigo withal, is but 53 pound. At Surat they talk of a *Serre*, which is one and three-fourths of a pound, and the pound is 16 ounces.

CHAPTER III.

Of their carriages, and the manner of Travelling in India.

BEFORE you set forward upon the road, it will be convenient to speak of their carriages and manner of travelling in India, which, in my opinion, is more commodious than any thing that has been invented for ease in France or Italy. Quite otherwise it is in Persia, where they neither make use of asses, mules, or horses, but transport all their wares to the Indies upon oxen, or in wains, their countries being so near to one another. If any merchant carries an horse out of Persia, it is only for show, or to walk in his hand, or to sell to some Indian Prince.

They will lay upon an ox's back 300, or 350 pound weight, and it is no wonderful thing to see ten or twelve thousand oxen at a time all laden with rice, corn and salt, in such places where they

* The *maund*. A *maund*, according to Tavernier's calculation of a *seer* will, therefore, consist of 70 lbs., and not 69 lbs.

exchange those commodities : carrying corn where only rice grows, rice where only corn grows, and salt where there is none at all. They make use of camels sometimes, but very rarely, they being particularly appointed to carry the luggage of great personages. When the season requires haste, and that they would speedily convey their merchandize to Surat to ship them off, they load them upon oxen, and not in wains. And in regard that the territories of the Great Mogul are very well manured, the fields are fenced with very good ditches ; and to every field there belongs a pond to preserve the water. This is this great inconvenience for travellers ; that when they meet with these numerous caravans in straight places, they are forced to stay two or three days till they are all past by. They that drive these oxen, follow no other calling as long as they live, nor do they dwell in houses ; yet they carry their wives and children along with them. There are some among them that have an hundred oxen of their own, others more or less ; and they have always one, who is their chief, that takes as much state as a Prince, and has his chain of pearl hanging about his neck. When the caravan that carries the corn, and that which carries the salt happen to meet, rather than yield the road, they frequently enter into very bloody disputes. The Great Mogul considering one day that these quarrels were very prejudicial to trade, and the transportation of necessary provisions from place to place, sent for the two chiefs of the caravan, and after he had exhorted them, for the common good and their own interest, to live quietly together, and not to quarrel and fight when they met, gave to each of

them a *leck*, or an hundred thousand roupies, and a chain of pearl.

That the reader may the better understand the manner of travelling in the Indies, he is to take notice, that among the idolaters of that country there are four tribes, which are called Manaries, each of which may consist of an hundred thousand souls. These people live always in tents, and live only upon the transporting of merchandize from country to country. The first of these tribes carry nothing but corn, the second rice, the third pulse, and the fourth salt, which they fetch from Surat, and all along from as far as Cape-Camorin. These tribes are also distinguished in this manner: their priests, of whom I shall speak in another place, mark the foreheads of the first, with a red-gum, about the bredth of a crown; and then they draw a streak all the length of his nose, sticking grains of wheat upon it, sometimes ten, and sometimes twelve. Those of the second tribe are marked with yellow gumin the same place, with graing of rice. Those of the third are marked with a grey-gum, down to the shoulders, and grains of millet. Those of the fourth tribe carry tied about there necks a bag, with a gteat lump of salt in it, weighing sometimes eight or ten pounds, (for the heavier it is, the more they glory in carrying it;) and with this bag they thump their stomachs, as a sign of repentance every morning before they say their prayers. They have all in general a little line or twist, like a scarf, about their necks, at the end whereof hangs a little silver-box, like a relique-box, wherein they enclose a litte superstitious writing which their priests give them; they tie them also about their oxen and other cattle,

which are bred in their herds, for which they have a particular affection, and love them as tenderly as children, especially if they have no children of their own. Their women wear only a piece of Calicut white or painted, some six or five times doubled from their waists downward. From their waists upward they cut their flesh into several forms of flowers, as they do that apply cupping-glasses, which they paint in various colours with the juice of grapes, that their skin seems to be all made of flowers.

Every morning, while the men load the beasts, and that the women fold up the tents, the priests that follow them, set up in the most convenient place of the plain where they lodged a certain idol in the form of a serpent in wreaths, upon a perch six or seven foot high; to which they come all in files to worship, their women going three times about. After the ceremony is over, the priests take care of the idol, and load it upon an ox particularly appointed for that purpose.

The caravan of waggons seldom exceeds the number of an hundred or two hundred at most. Every waggon is drawn by ten or twelve oxen; and attended by four soldiers, which the person that owes the merchandize is obliged to pay. Two of them march upon each side of the waggon, over which there are two ropes thrown across, the ends whereof they hold in their hands, to the end, that if the waggon come to lean on one side in ill-way the two soldiers on the other side may keep it from overturning by pulling the ropes with all their strength.

All the waggons that come to Surat, either from Agia, or any other parts of the Empire, and which

return through Agra, or Janabat, are bound to carry back the lime that comes from Barocha, which, after it is tempered and laid on, becomes as hard as marble.

I come now to the manner of travelling in India, to which purpose they make use of oxen instead of horses, and there are some, whose pace is as easy as the amble of our hackneys. But you must take a care, when you either buy or hire an ox to ride upon, that the horns be not above a foot in length. For if they be longer, when the flies begin to sting, he will chafe, and toss back his horns, and strike them into the stomach of the rider, as oftentimes it has happened. These oxen are rid like our horses, and instead of snaffles or bits, they have only a rope drawn through the muscly part of the muzzle or nostrils. In firm ground where there are no stones, they never shoe their oxen; but only in rough places, where not only the stones, but the heat will waste and chop the hoof. Whereas in Europe we tie our oxen by the horns, the Indians only put a thick truss upon their necks, that keeps fast a collar of leather four fingers broad, which they have nothing to do but to put about their necks when they fasten them to the waggon.

They use also for travel little coaches, but very light, that will hold two persons; but generally they ride alone for more ease, carrying only their necessary cloak-bags along with them; with a small vessel of wine, and a small quantity of provisions, for which there is a proper place under the coach, where they tie the two oxen. These coaches have their curtains and seats like ours, yet are not hung: but in my last travels I caused one to be made after

our manner ; and the two oxen that drew it, cost me near upon sixhundred roupies. Nor is the reader to wonder at the price ; for there are some of these oxen that are very strong, and that will travel upon the trot twelve or fifteen leagues a day for sixty days together. When they have gone half the days journey, they give them two or three balls, as big as one of our two penny-loaves, of wheat kneaded up with butter and blacksugar. The hire of a coach comes to a roupie a day more or less. From Surat to Agra is forty days journey, and you pay for the whole journey from forty to forty-five roupies. From Surat to Golconda, being almost the same distance, the same price is observed ; and by the same proportion you may travel over all the Indies.

They who have more to spend, for their own ease make use of a pallanquin, wherein they travel very commodiously. This is a sort of little couch six or seven foot long, and three broad, with balisters round about it. A sort of cane, called bambouc, which they bend like an arch, sustains the covering of the pallanquin, which is either of satin or cloth of gold ; and when the sun lies upon one side, a slave that goes by the side, takes care to pull down the covering. Another slave carries at the end of a long stick a kind of target of osier, covered over with some gentile stuff, to preserve the person that is in the pallanquin from the heat of the sun, when he turns and lies upon his face. The two ends of the bambouc are fastened on both sides to the body of the pallanquin between two sticks joined together like a Saltir or St. Andrews-cross, every one of those two sticks being five or six foot long.

There are some of these bamboucs that cost two hundred crowns; I myself have paid an hundred and twenty. Three men for the most part apply themselves to each of these two ends to carry the pallanquin upon their shoulders; some on the right, and some on the left, and they go swifter than our sedan-men, and with a much more easy pace, as being that which they practise from their youth. You give to every one for all things not above four roupies a month; but it stands you in above five if the journey be long, and exceed sixty days labour.

Whether it be in a coach, or pallanquin, he that will travel honourably in the Indies, must take along with him twenty or thirty armed men, with bows and arrows some, others with musquets; and they have the same rate with those that carry the pallanquin. Sometimes for more magnificence they carry a banner, as the English and Hollanders do, for the honour of their companies. These soldiers are not only for shew, but they watch for your defence, keeping sentinels, and relieving one another, and are very studious to give content. For you must know, that in the towns where you take them into service, they have a chieftain, that is responsible for their fidelity, who for his good word has two roupies a-piece of every one.

In the great villages there is generally a Mahometan that commands, of whom you may buy mutton, pullets, or pigeons. But where there live none but banians, there is nothing but flour, rice, herbs and milk-meats to be had.

The great heats in India enforcing the travellers, that are not accustomed to them, to travel by night, and rest in the day-time; when they come into any

fortified towns, they must be gone before sun-set, if they intend to travel that night. For night coming on, and the gates being shut, the commander of the place, who is to answer for all the robberies that are committed within his jurisdiction, will let no person stir forth, telling them that is the King's order, to which he must be obedient. When I came to any of those towns, I brought my provisions, and went out again in good time, and staid in the field under some tree, in the fresh air, till it was time to set forward.

They measure the distances of places in India by *Cos*, and *Costes*. A *Cos* is about four of our common leagues, and a *Coste* is one league. It is now time to travel from Surat to Agra, and Janabat, and to observe what is most remarkable upon the road.

CHAPTER IV.

The road from Surat to Agra, through Brampour and Seronge.

I am no less well acquainted with all the principal roads that lead to the chief cities in India, than those of Turkey and Persia ; for in six times that I have travelled from Paris to Ispahan, I have gone twice for one from Ispahan to Agra, and many other places of the Great Mogul's Empire. But it would be tiresome to the reader to carry him more than once the same way, on purpose to make a relation of every particular journey, and the accidents that accompany them : and therefore let it

suffice to give an exact description of the roads, without particularizing the distinct times that I went.

There are but two roads from Surat to Agra, one through Brampour and Seronge, the other through Amadabat. The first shall be the subject of this chapter.

From Surat to Barnoly, costes 14

Barnoly is a great borough-town, where you are to ford a great river ; and this first days journey you cross a mixt country, part wood, through fields of wheat and rice.

From Barnoly to Bahor, costes 10

Bahor is also a large village upon a lake, about a league in compass. Upon the side whereof is to be seen a good substantial fortress ; though there be no use made of it. Three quarters of a league on this side the village you ford a small river, though not without great difficulty, by reason of the rocks and stones that hazard the over-turning of the coach. This second days journey you travel almost altogether through woods.

From Balor to Kerkoa, or it is called at this day, *Carvansera de la Begum*, costes 5

This Carvansera or Inn is very large and commodious ; being built out of charity by Begum-saheb the daughter of Cha-jehan. For formerly the journey from Balor to Navapoura was too great : and this place being upon the frontiers of those Raja's that sometimes will not acknowledge the Great Mogul, whose vassals they are, there was no caravan that past by which was not abused ; besides that it is a woody-country. Between Caravansera and Navapoura you ford a river ; as also another very near to Navapoura.

From Kerkoa to Navapoura, costes 75

Navapoura is a great town full of weavers ; but rice is the greatest commodity of that place. There runs a river through the country, which makes it very fruitful, and waters the rice, that requires moisture. All the rice, which grows in this country has one peculiar quality, that makes it more particularly esteemed. The grain of it is less by one half, than the grain of the common rice ; and when it is boiled no snow is whiter ; but besides all that, it smells of musk ; and all the grandees of the Indians eat no other. When they would make an acceptable present to any one in Persia, they send him a sack of this rice. This river which passes by Kerkoa and those other places I have mentioned, empties itself into the river of Surat.

From Navapoura to Nasarbar, costes 9

From Nasarbar to Dol-medan, costes 74

From Dol-medan to Senquera, costes 7

From Senquera to Tallener, costes 10

At Tallener you are to pass the river, which runs to Baroch ; where it is very large, and empties itself into the gulf of Cambaya.

From Tallener to Choupre, costes 15

From Choupre to Senquelis, costes 13

From Senquelis to Nabir, costes 10

From Nabir to Badelpoura, costes 9

At Badelpoura it is, where the loaded waggons pay the duties of Brampour ; but the waggons that carry nothing but passengers pay nothing.

From Badelpoura to Brampour, costes 5

Brampour is a great city, very much ruined, the houses being for the most part thached with straw. There is also a great castle in the midst of the city,

where the Governor lies ; the government of this province is a very considerable command ; and is only conferred upon the son or uncle of the King. And Aureng-zeb, the present King, was a long time governor of this province in the reign of his father. But since they came to understand the strength of the province of Bengala, which formerly bore the title of a kingdom, that province is now the most considerable in all the Mogul's country. There is a great trade in this city, and as well in Brampore, as over all the province, there is made a prodigious quantity of Calicuts very clear and white, which are transported into Persia, Turkey and Muscuvia, Poland, Arabia, to Grand Cairo, and other places. There are some which are painted with several colours, with flowers, of which the women make veils and scarfs ; the same Calicuts serve for coverlets of beds, and for handkerchiefs. There is another sort of linnen which they never dye, with a stripe or two of gold or silver quite through the piece, and at each end from the breadth of one inch to twelve of fifteen, in some more, in some less, they fix a tissue of gold, silver, and silk, intermixed with flowers, whereof there is no wrong-side, both sides being as fair the one as the other. If these pieces, which they carry into Poland, where they have a vast utterance, want at each end three or four inches at the least of gold or silver ; or if that gold or silver become tarnished in being carried by sea from Surat to Ormus, and from Trebizan to Mangala, or any other parts upon the Black-Sea, the merchant shall have much ado to put them off without great loss. He must take care that his goods be packt up in good bales, that no wet may get in ; which for so

long a voyage requires great care and trouble. Some of these linens are made purposely for swathbands or sashes, and those pieces are called *ornis*. They contain from 15 to 20 ells; and cost from an hundred and fifty roupies, the least, not being under ten or twelve ells. Those that are not above two ells long are worn by the ladies of quality for veils and scarfs, of which there is a vast quantity vended in Persia and Turkey. They make at Brampour also other sorts of cotton-linen; for indeed there is no province in all the Indies which more abounds in cotton.

When you leave the city of Brampour, you must pass another river, besides that which I have mentioned already. There is no bridge, and therefore when the water is low, you ford it; when the rains fall, there are boats attending.

From Surat to Brampour it is 132 costes; and these costes are very short in the Indies; for you may travel one of them in a coach in less than an hour.

I remember a strange tumult at Brampour, in the year 1641, when I returned from Agra to Surat; the cause whereof was thus, in short: The Governor of the province, who was the King's nephew by the mother's-side, had among his pages a young boy that was very beautiful, and of a very good family, who had a brother in the city that lived as a *Dervich*; and for whom all the town had a very great veneration. One day the Governor, being alone in his chamber, did all that lay in his power, by virtue of gifts and caresses to have had the use of his body; but the boy detesting his abominable purpose, made his escape from him, and came and told his brother.

The *Dervich*, without deliberating what counsel he had to give his younger brother, gave him a sword, such a one as he might easily hide under his garment ; and told him, that if the Governor urged him any more, that he should make a show of complying with him but that when he went about to do the fact, he should be sure to run him into the guts. The Governor, who knew nothing of what the page had revealed to his brother, ceased not every day to court him to consent to his infamous lust ; and being one day alone with him in a small apartment of a banquetting-house, at the lower end of his garden, he sent for his page to fan him, and to keep off the flies, after the fashion of the country ; for it was about noon, when every one goes to sleep. Then did the Governor begin again to press the young page ; and finding that he made no resistance, he thought he should suddenly accomplish his design. But the page seeing him ready to commit the act, stabbed him three times into the belly, before he could open his mouth to cry out for help. That done, the page went out of the palace, without any disturbance in his countenance ; so that the guards believed that the Governor had sent him out upon some errand. The *Dervich* understanding by his brother what had passed, to save him from the fury of the people, and to discover the infamy of the Governor, caused the rest of the *Dervichs* his companions, to take the banners of Mahomet, that were planted round the Mosque ; and at the same time with loud cries encouraged all the rest of the *Dervichs*, *Faquirs*, and others that were good Mahometans, to follow him. In less than an hour's time he had got together an infinite multitude of that rabble,

and the *Dervich* marching at the head of them, they made directly to the palace, crying out with all their might, "Let us die for Mahomet, or let us have that infamous person delivered up into our hands, to the end the dogs may eat him after his death, not being worthy to be interred among the Musselmen." The guard of the palace was not in a condition to resist so great a multitude, so that they must have been forced to have yielded to their fury, had not the *Deroga* of the town, and some five or six lords, found a way to make themselves to be heard, and to appease them, by representing to them, that they ought to have some respect to the nephew of the King; by that means obliging them to retire. The night the body of the Governor was sent to Agra, with his Haram; and Cha-jehan, who then reigned, being informed of the accident, was not much troubled, because he is heir to all the goods of his subject; and at the same time he bestowed upon the page a small government in the province of Bengala.

From Brampour to Piombi-sera, costes

Before we go any further, you must take notice, that wherever you meet with the word *Sera*, it signifies a great enclosure of walls and hedges, within which are about fifty or sixty huts, covered over with straw. There are some men and women that there put to sell flower, rice, butter, and herbs, and make it their business to bake bread and boil rice. If there be any Mahometan in that place, he will go to the city, and buy a little piece of mutton, or a fowl; and those that sell victuals to the travellers, always cleanse the hut which they take up, and put into it a little bed with girths, to lay a mattress or

quilt upon, which the travellers carry along with them.

From Piombi-sera to Pander, costes 3

From Pander to Balki-sera, costes 6

From Balki-sera to Nevilki-sera, costes 5

From Nevilki-sera to Consemba, costes 5

From Consemba to Chenipore, costes 3

From Chenipore to Charava, costes 8

From Charava to Bich-ola, costes 8

From Bich-ola to Andy, costes 4

At Andy you must pass a river that falls into Ganges, between Banarou and Patna.

From Andi to Onquenas, costes 4

From Onquenas to Tiquery, costes 5

From Tiquery to Tool-meden, costes 4

From Tool-medan to Nova-sera, costes 4

From Nova-sera to Ichavour, costes 4

From Ichavour to Signor, costes 5

From Signor to Chekaipour, costes 3

From Chekhipour to Dour-ay, costes 3

Fram Dour-ay to Aser-kaira, costes 3

From Aser-kaira to Telor, costes 3

From Telor to San-kaira, costes 3

From San-kaira to Seronge, costes 13

Seronge is a great city, the most part of the inhabitants whereof are Banian merchants, and handicraft-trades-men from father to son, which is the reason that there are in this city several houses of stone and brick. There is also a great trade for all sorts of painted Calicuts, which are called *chites*, which is the clothing of all the meaner sort of people both in Persia and Turkey: of which in other countries also they make use, for coverlets for beds, and table-napkins. They make the same

sort of Calicuts in other countries as well as at Seronge but the colours are not so lively ; besides, that they wear out with often washing. Whereas those that are made at Seronge, the more you wash them, the fairer the colour shew. There runs a river by the city, the water whereof has that virtue, that it gives that beauty and liveliness to the colours. And all the while the rains fall, the workmen will make these prints upon their cottons, according to the patterns which the foreign merchants give them ; for when the waters are ceased, the water is the thicker ; and the oftener they did their Calicuts, the better the colours hold.

There is also made at Seronge another sort of Calicut, which is so fine, that when a man puts it on, his skin shall appear through it, as if he were naked. The merchants are not permitted to transport it. For the Governor sends it all to the seraglio of the Great Mogul, and to the principal lords of the court. Of this, the Sultaneses, and great noblemen's wives make them shifts and garments in hot-weather : and the King and the lords take great pleasure to behold them in those shifts, and to see them dance with nothing else upon their bodies.

From Brampour to Seronge is an hundred and one costes, which are longer than those from Surat to Brampour ; for the coach is a full hour, and sometimes five quarters, going one of these costes. In these hundred leagues of the country you travel whole day's journeys along by most fertile fields of corn and rice, being lovely champaign, where you meet with very little wood ; and from Seronge to Agra, the country is much of the same nature : and because the villages lie thick together, your journey

is the more pleasant ; besides, that you may rest when you please.

From Seronge to Madalki-sera, costes 6

From Madalki-sera to Poulki-sera, costes 2

From Poulki-sera to Kasariki-sera, costes 3

From Kasariki-sera to Chadolki-sera costes 6

From Chadolki-sera to Callabas, costes 6

Callabas is a great town, which was formerly the residence of a Raja, who paid tribute to the Great Mogul. But when Orang zeb came to the crown, he not only cut off his, but a great number of the heads of his subjects. There are two towers near the town, upon the highway, and round about the towers are several holes, like windows ; and in every hole, two feet distant one from another, there is fixed a man's head. In my last travels in the year 1665, it had not been long since that executions had been done ; for then all the heads were whole, and caused a very ill smell.

From Callabas to Akmate, costes 2

From Akmate to Collasar, costes 9

Collasar is a little town, all the inhabitants whereof are idolaters. As I past through it upon my last travels, there were brought to it eight pieces of artillery, the one carrying 48 pound-bullet, the rest 36. Every piece was drawn by 24 yoke of oxen. A very strong elephant followed the artillery, and when they came to any bad way, where the oxen were at a stand, they brought up the elephant, who heaved the cannon forward with his trunk. Without the town, all along the highway, there grows a vast number of great trees, which they call mangues ; and in many places near the trees are to be seen little pagodas, with every one an idol at the

door. The elephant passing by one of the pagodas, before which I was lodged, at the door whereof there stood three idols about five foot high ; so soon as he came near one, he took it up in his trunk, and broke it in two pieces , the next he took, he threw it up so high, and so far, that he broke it in four pieces ; and carried away the head of the third along with him. Some thought that the governor of the elephant had taught him what to do, and made signs to him, which however I did not observe ; nevertheless the Banians were very much offended, though they durst not say any thing ; for there was a guard of above two thousand men that convoyed the artillery, all soldiers of the King, and Mahometans, besides *Franguis*, or Franks, English and Hollanders that were cannoneers. The King sent this artillery to his army in Decan, being at wars with the Raja Seva-gi, who the year before had plundered Surat ; of whom I shall have occasion to speak in another place.

From Collasar to Sansele, costes 6

From Sansele to Dongry, costes 4

From Dongry to Gate, costes 3

Gate is a strait passage of the mountains, a quarter of a league in length, the descent whereof leads from Surat to Agra. At the entry thereof you see the ruins of two or three castles, and the road is so narrow, that two waggons can hardly go abreast. They that come from the south to go to Agra, as from Surat, Goa, Visapore, Golconda, Maslipatan, and other places, cannot avoid these streights, there being no other road but this, especially if you take the road from Amadabat. Formerly there was a gate at each end of the streight, and at that end

which is next to Agra, there are five or six shops of Banian, that sell flower, butter, rice, herbs and pulse. In my last travels I staid at one of these shops, to tarry for the coaches and waggons, all the passengers alighting at the foot of the streights. Not far off there is a great magazine full of sacks of rice and corn ; and behind every sack lay a serpent thirteen or fourteen feet long, and proportionable in bigness. A woman that went to fetch corn out of one of those sacks, was bitten by one of those serpents, and perceiving herself wounded, ran out of the magazine, crying out " Ram, Ram," that is, O God, O God ; whereupon several Banians, men and women came running to her relief, and bound her arm very hard above the wound, thinking to stop the venom from running any higher. But all in vain, for immediately her face swelled and turned black, and she died in less than an hour. The Ragipous, who are the best soldiers among the Indians, and are all idolaters, came in just as the woman was expiring, and about four of them entering with their skains, and half-pikes in their hands into the magazin, killed the serpent. The people of the village took and threw it without the town, and immediately there came a great number of birds of prey, which lighting upon the carrion, devoured it in less than an hour's time. The parents of the woman took her body, carried it to the river, washed it, and then burnt it. I was forced to stay two days at that place, because there was a river to pass, which instead of falling, swelled at that time, by reason of the rains that fell for three or four days together : so that I was constrained to go half a league lower before I could cross it. They always endeavoured

to ford this river, for otherwise they must be compelled to unload the waggon into the boats; and also to carry the goods in their arms for above half a league, which is worse way than can be imagined. The people get their livings by the passengers, from whom they extort as much as they can, there being none but they that know the ways: otherwise it would be an easy thing to make a bridge, there being no want either of wood or stone near at hand. For the passage is nothing but through rocks, that lie between the mountain and the river; so that the waters when they swell, overflow all the road, inso-much that no-body can pass it, but they who are very well acquainted with it.

From Gate to Nader, costes 4

Nader is a great city upon the descent of a mountain, at the top whereof is a kind of fortress; all the mountain being encompassed with walls. The greatest part of the houses, as in all other cities of India, are thatched with straw, one story high; but the rich men's houses, are two stories, and terrassed. Round about the city are several great ponds to be seen, which were formerly encompassed with hewn-stone, but now are not at all looked after: yet there are very fair monuments about them. The same river which we past the day before, and which we repass four or five costes on this side Nader, encompasses three parts of the city and mountain, like a peninsula, and after a long winding-course which it takes, falls at length into Ganges. At Nader they make a great quantity of quilted-coverlets, some white, others embroidered with flowers of gold, silk and satin.

From Nader to Barqui-sera, costes 9

From Barqui-sera to Trie, costes 3

From Trie to Goualeor, costes 6

Goualeor is a great city ill-built, like all the rest, after the manner of the Indians ; it is built all along the side of a mountain that lies upon the west-side of it ; and which at the top is encompassed with walls and towers. There are in this enclosure several ponds made by the rains ; and what they sow there sufficient to keep the garrison : for which reason it is esteemed one of the best in the Indies. Upon the descent of the hill, which looks towards the north-east, Cha-jehan built an house of pleasure ; from whence there is a prospect over all the city and indeed it may serve for a garrison. Below the house are to be seen several idols cut out of the rock, representing the shapes of their Gods : and among the rest, there is one of an extraordinary height.

Since the Mahometan Kings became masters of this country, this fortress of Goualeor is the place where they secure Princes and great noblemen. Cha-jehan coming to the empire by foul-play, caused all the Princes and Lords whom he mistrusted to be seized one after another, and sent them to the fortress of Goualeor ; but he suffered them all to live, and enjoy their estates. Aureng-zeb his son acts quite otherwise ; for when he sends any great Lord to this place, at the end of nine or ten days he orders him to be poisoned ; and this he does that the people may not exclaim against him for a bloody Prince. So soon as he had in his clutches Prince Morat-Bakche his youngest brother, whom he engaged to take arms against his father Cha-jehan ; and who being Governor of the province of Guzerat, took upon him the title of King, he sent him to

this fortress, where he died. They have made him a most magnificent monument in the city in a Mosque, which they built on purpose, with a great piazza before it all surrounded with vaults and shops over them. For it is the custom of the Indians, when they rear any public building, to make a great piazza before it, where they keep their markets, with a foundation for the poor, to him they give alms every day, as being to pray to God for him that raised the fabric.

Five costes from Goualeor, you ford a river which is called Lantke.

From Goualeor to Paterki sera, costes 3

From Paterki sera to Quariqui-sera, costes 10

There is a bridge at Paterki-sera, consisting of six wide arches; and the river you go over is called Quarinado.

From Quariki-sera to Dolpoura, costes 6

At Dolpoura there is a great river which is called Chammelnadi, to which there belongs a ferry-boat.

The river itself falls into the Gemena between Agra and Halabas.

From Dolpoura to Minasqui-sera, costes 6

At Minasqui-sera, there is a river which is called Jagounadi. You pass it over a very long bridge built of stone, the name whereof is Jaoulcapoul.

From Minasqui-sera to this bridge, costes 8

Not far from this bridge it is, that they view the merchants goods, that when they come to Agra they may not be deceived of their duties. But more particularly to see whether among the casks of fruits pickled in vinegar, in pots of glass, there be no flasks of wine.

From the bridge Jaoulcapoul to Agra, costes 4

So that from Seronge to Agra, it is an hundred and six costes, which are ordinary leagues; and from Surat to Agra, 339.

CHAPTER V.

The Road from Surat to Agra through Amadabat

From Surat to Baroche, costes 22

All the country between these two cities is full of corn, rice, millet, and sugar-canes. Before you enter into Baroche, you must ferry over the river which runs to Cambaya, and falls into the gulf that carries the same name.

Baroche is a great city, to which there belongs a fortress, of which there is no use made at this time. But the city has been always very famous, by reason of the river, which has a particular quality to whiten their cottons; which are brought thither from all parts of the Great Mogul's territories, where they have not that convenience. In this place are made a great quantity of Baffas, or long and large pieces of cotton. These cottons are very fair, and close woven; and the price of these pieces is from four to an hundred roupies. You must pay custom at Baroche for all goods that are brought in and carried out. The English have a very fair house in the city; and I remember once, that coming thither one day in my return from Surat to Agra with the President of the English, presently the mountebanks came about him, and asked him if he would

see any of their tricks. The first thing they did was to light a great fire, and to heat certain iron-chians red-hot, and wind them about their bodies, making as if they felt a great deal pain, but in truth receiving no harm at all. Then they thrust a piece of a stick into the ground, and asked the company what fruit they would have. One told them, he would mangoes ; then one of the mountebanks hiding himself in the middle of a sheet, stooped to the ground five or six times one after another. I was so curious to go up stairs, and look out of a window, to see if I could spy what the mountebank did ; and perceived, that after he had cut himself under the armpits with a razor, he rubbed the stick with his blood. After the two first times that he raised himself, the stick seemed to the very eye to grow. The third time sprung out branches with young buds. The fourth time the tree was covered with leaves ; and the fifth time it bore flowers. The President of the English had then his minister with him having brought him from Amadabat to Christen the Commander of the Hollander's child, to which he had promised to be god-father. The English minister protested that he could not give his consent that any Christian should be a spectator of such delusions. so that as soon as he saw that those mountebanks had of a dry-stick, in less than half an hour, made a tree four or five foot high, that bore leaves and flowers as in the spring-time ; he went about to break it, protesting he would not give the communion to any person that should stay any longer to see those things. Thereupon the President was forced to dismiss the mountebanks, who wander about the country with their wives and children just

like gipsies ; and having given them to the value of ten or twelve crowns, they went away very well contented.

They that are curious to see Cambaya, never go out of their way above five or six costes, or thereabout. For when you are at Baroche, instead of going to Broudra, you may go directly forward to Cambaya, from thence afterwards to Amadabat. But whether it be for business, or out of curiosity, the latter road is never to be taken ; not only because of the danger in crossing the mouth of the gulf.

Cambaya is a great city at the bottom of the gulf that bears name. Here it is that they shape those fair *Agats* that come from the Indies, into cups, hasts of knives, beads, and other sorts of workmanship. In the parts adjacent to the city, they also make indigo of the same nature of that of Sarquess ; and it was famous for traffick at the time when the Portugueses flourished in India. There are to be seen at this day, in the quarter next the sea, very fair houses, which they had built, with very rich furniture, after the Portugal manner ; but now they are uninhabited, and fall to decay every day more and more. There were then such good orders observed in Cambaya, that two hours after day was shut in, every street was locked up with two gates, which are still to be seen ; and still they continue to lock up the principal streets that lead into the town. One of the chief reasons why the town has lost the greatest part of its trade is, because that formerly the the sea run close up to Cambaya, so that little vessels easily anchored by it ; but afterwards the sea daily lost in that part, so that a small ship could not ride within five or six leagues of the city.

There are a great number of peacocks in the Indies, especially in the territories of Baroche, Cambaya, and Broudra. The flesh of the young ones is white and well-tasted like ours, and you shall see vast numbers of them all day in the fields, for at night the roost upon the trees. It is a hard matter to come near them in the day, for as soon as they perceive themselves hunted, they fly away as swift as a partridge among the bushes ; so that it is impossible for any man to follow them without tearing his clothes all to rags ; therefore are they only to be taken in the night time, to which purpose they have this invention. They approach the tree with a kind of a banner, upon which there is a peacock painted to the life on both sides ; at the top of the stick are fastened two lighted candles, the brightness whereof amazing the peacock, causes him to stretch out his neck toward the end of the stick, to which there is a rope tied with a sliding knot, which he that holds the banner draws, when he finds that the peacock has put his neck into it. But you must have a care of killing either bird or any other animal in the territories, of which the idolatrous Rajas are masters ; which is nothing dangerous to do in those parts of the Indies, where the Governors are Mahometans, and give liberty to fowl or hunt. It happened one time that a rich Persian merchant, passing through the territories of the Raja of Dantivar, shot a peacock upon the road, and killed it, either out of rashness, or ignorance of the custom of the country. The bannians incensed at the attempt, which is accounted among them a most abominable sacrilege, seized upon the merchant, and all his money to the value of 300000 roupies, and tying him to a tree

whipt him in so terrible a manner for three days together, that the man died.

From Cambaya you go to a little village distant some three costes, where there is a pagod, to which all the Indian courtezans come to make their offerings. This pagod is full of naked images, among the rest, there is a large figure of one that seems to resemble Apollo, with his privy parts all uncovered. When the old courtezans have got together a good sum of money in their youth, they buy young slaves, whom they teach to dance, and sing wanton songs, and instruct in all the mysteries of their infamous art. And when these young girls are eleven or twelve years old, their mistresses send them to this pagod, believing it will bring them good fortune, to offer and surrender up themselves to this idol.

From this pagod to Chiidabad you have six costes. This is one of the fairest houses of the Great Mogul, with a wide enclosure, wherein he has vast gardens, and large ponds, with all the pleasures and curiosity whereof the genius of the Indians is capable.

From Chiidabad to Amadabad you have but five costes ; and so I return to Baroche, and the common road.

From Baroche to Broudra, costes 22

Broudra is a great city standing in a fertile soil, wherein there is a vast trade for Calicuts.

From Broudra to Neriade, costes 18

From Neriade to Amadabat, costes 20

Amadabat is one of the greatest cities in India ; and where there is a mighty trade for silk-stuffs, hangings of gold and silver, and others mixed with silk, for saltpeter, sugar, ginger candid and raw ;

tamarins, mirobolans ; and flat indigo, which is made at a great town, not far from Amadabat, called Sarquess. There was in that place a pagod, which the Mahumetans have pulled down, and built a Mosque in the place. Before you enter into it, you must cross three large courts paved with marble, and encompassed with galleries ; nor you enter into the third court till you have pulled off your shoes. The inside of the Mosque is adorned with mosaic-work, the greatest part whereof is of agats of divers colours, which they fetch from the mountains of Cambaya, not above two days' journey off. There are several sepulchres of the ancient idolatrous Kings, that look like little chapels, of mosaic-work, built upon a vault that is under the sepulchre. There runs a river from Amadabat toward the north-west, which during the rainy-seasons that continue three or four months together, is very wide and rapid, and does much mischief every year. It is so with all the other rivers in India ; and after the rains are fallen, you must stay six weeks or two months before you can ford Amadabat-river, where there is no bridge. There are two or three boats ; but they are of no use, when the stream is so swift ; so that you must stay till the waters are fallen. But the people of the country will not stay so long ; for to cross from one river to another, they only make use of goat-skins, which they blow up and fill with wind, and then tie them between their stomachs and their bellies. Thus the poor men and women swim across this river, and when they would carry their children along with them, they put them in certain round pots of earth, the mouth whereof is four fingers wide, and drive the pots before them.

This puts me in mind of a passage, when I was at Amadabat in the year 1642, which is too remarkable to be omitted.

A country-man and a country-woman one day past the river as I have related, and having a child about two years old, they put it into one of these pots, so that there was nothing but the head appeared. Being about the middle of the river, they met with a little bank of sand, where there lay an huge tree, which the stream had carried thither; whereupon the father shoved the pot towards that part, to rest himself a while. When he came near the tree, the trunk whereof lay somewhat above the water, a serpent leapt out from among the roots, into the pot where the infant was. The father and the mother frightened at the accident, and having almost lost their senses, let that pot go adrift where the stream carried it, and lay almost dead themselves at the bottom of the tree. About two leagues lower, a Banian and his wife with a little infant, were washing themselves in the river before they went to it. They descried the pot afar off, with the half of the infant's head that appeared above the hole. The Banian immediately swims to the relief of the child, and having stopped the pot, drives it to the shore. The mother followed by her own, comes presently to take the other child out of the pot, at what time the serpent that had done no harm to the other child, shoots out of the pot, and winding about hers, stings it, and infuses its venom into the infant, so that it died immediately. However, the accident being so extraordinary, did not trouble these poor people; who rather believed it to have happened by the secret disposal of their Deity, who had taken

from them one child, to give them another for it, with which opinion they presently comforted themselves. Some time after, the report of this accident coming to the ears of the first country-man, he comes to the Banian to tell him how the mischance had happened, and to demand his child of him ; the other Indian affirming that the child was his, and that his God had sent it him, in the place of that which was dead. To be short, the business made so loud a noise, that it was at length brought before the King, who ordered, that the child should be restored to the father.

At the same time there happened another very pleasant accident in the same city of Amadabat. The wife of a rich merchant Banian, named Saintidas, never having had a child, and manifesting her eager desire to have one, a servant of the house took her aside one day, and told her, that if she would but eat that which he would give her, she should be with child. The woman desirous to know what she was to eat, the servant told her it was a little fish, and that she should eat but three or four. Now the religion of the Banians forbidding them to eat any thing that has life, she could not at first resolve to yield to his proposal ; but the servant having promised her that he would so order the matter, that she should not know whether it were fish or no that she eat, she resolved to try his receipt, and went the next night to lie with her husband, according to the instruction which she had received from the servant. Some time after, the woman perceiving that she was big, her husband happened to die, and the kindred of the deceased would have his estate. The widow opposed them, and told

them that it behoved them to stay, till they saw whether the child she went withal, would live or no. Her kindred were surprised to hear such news that they so little expected, and taxed her for one that either lied or jested with them ; knowing that the woman had lived fifteen or sixteen years with her husband, yet never had been with child. Seeing therefore that her kindred still tormented her, she went and threw herself at the Governor's feet, to whom she related all that had past ; who thereupon ordered that the kindred should stay till the woman was delivered. Some days after she had lain-in, the kindred of the deceased merchant, who were persons of credit, and gaped after so fair an inheritance, affirmed that the child was not legitimate, and that she had it not by her husband. The Governor, to understand the truth of the matter, calls for the physicians ; who concluded, that the infant should be carried to the bath, saying, that if the receipt which the mother had made use of, were real, the sweat of the child would smell of fish ; which was done accordingly, and the experiment proved true. Thereupon the Governor ordered that the child should have the estate, the merchant being so proud to be his father : but the kindred, troubled that such a fat morsel had escaped their mouths, appealed to the King. Upon their relation of the story, the King wrote to the Governor to send him the mother and the infant, to the end the experiment might be made in his presence : which having the same success as before, the kindred surceased their claim, and the estate remained to the mother and infant.

I remember also another pleasant story which was related to me at Amaḡabat, where I have been

ten or twelve times. A merchant with whom I often dealt, and who was very well beloved by Cha-est-Kan, Governor of the province, and the King's uncle, had the reputation never to have told a lie. Cha-est-Kan, after the three years of his government were expired, according to the custom of the Great Mogul, and that Aureng-zeb, the King's son, was come into his place, retired to Agra where the court then was. One day, discoursing with the King he told him, that he had seen many rare things in the government, with which his Majesty had honoured him, but that one thing above all the rest had astonished him, to have met with a rich merchant that had never told a lie, and yet he was above three score and ten years of age. The King surprised at a thing so extraordinary, signified to Cha-est-Kan, his desire to see the person, and commanded him to send for him to Agra, which he did. The old man was very much troubled, as well in regard of the length of the way, it being a journey of 25 or 30 days, as for that he was to make a present to the King. In short, he provided one, esteemed at forty-thousand roupies, to carry betel in, encased with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. When he had made his obeisance to the King, and given him his present, the King asked him only what was his name, to whom he replied, that he was called the man that had never told a lie. Then the King asked him who was his father? "Sir," said he, "I cannot tell." His Majesty satisfied with an answer, stopt there, and unwilling to trouble him any further, commanded an elephant to be given him, which is a very great honour, and ten thousand roupies to bear his charges home.

The Banians have a great veneration for apes, and there are some which they breed up in their pagods to worship. There are three or four houses in Amadabat which they make use of for Hospitals for cows, oxen, apes, and other sick or maimed beasts; and they carry all they can find thither to preserve them. This is also very remarkable, that every Tuesday and Friday all the apes in the places adjoining to Amadabat, of their own accord come to the city, and get upon the tops of their houses, where they lie, during the excessive heats. And therefore upon those days the people never fail to set ready in their terrasses, rice, millet, sugar-canes in their seasons, and other such-like things. For if the apes did not find their provision when they came, they would break the tiles where-with the rest of the house is covered and do a great deal of mischief. And you must here take notice also, that the ape never eats any thing which he does not very well like the scent of before-hand; and before he swallows anything, he lays up his magazine against future hunger; filling his bags with provision, which he keeps till next day.

I have said, that the Banians have a particular veneration for the ape; of which I will give you one example, among many, that I could bring. Being one day at Amadabat, at the house belong to the Hollanders, a young man of that nation newly arrived to serve in the factory, not knowing the custom of the country, and seeing a great ape upon a tree in the court, would needs shew a piece of activity, or rather a trick of youth, to kill the ape with a small gun. I was at the table then with the Dutch Commander; and we no sooner heard the blow, but

we heard as soon a loud noise of Banians, that wait upon the Holland Company, who came to complain bitterly of him that had killed the ape. They would all have been gone; so that the Commander had much ado, and made many excuses before he could appease them, and oblige them to stay.

In the neighbourhood about Amadabat, there are a great number of apes. And this is observable, that where there are a great number of those animals, there are very few crows. For as soon as they have built their nests and laid their eggs, the apes get upon the trees and throw their eggs to the ground. One day returning from Agra, and departing out of Amadabat with the English President, who came hither about some business, and was returning to Surat, we passed through a little forest of trees called mangoes, some four or five leagues from Amadabat; there we saw a vast number of great monkeys, male and female, and many of their females holding their young ones in their arms. We had each of us our coach, and the English President causing his to stop, told me he had an excellent and very neat harquebuss, that was presented him by the Governor of Daman, and knowing I could aim well, he desired me to try it, at one of those apes. One of my servants, who was born in the country, making me a sign not to venture, I endeavoured to dissuade the President from his design; but it was impossible; so that I took the harquebuss, and killed a female monkey, who lay stretched out upon the boughs, letting her little ones fall to the ground. But it fell out as my servant had forewarned me. For immediately all the monkeys that were upon the trees, to the number of sixty, came down in a great fury, to

have leaped into the President's coach, where they would soon have strangled him, had we not prevented them by closing the shutters, and had we not had a great number of servants, that with much ado kept them off. And though they came not to my coach, yet I was very much afraid of my self; for they pursued the President's coach above a league, and they were stout lusty monkeys.

From Amadabat to Panser, costes 13

From Panser to Masana, costes 14

*From Masana to Chitpour, costes 14

Chitpour is a very good city, so called by reason of the great trade for painted Calicuts, which are called *chites*: near which, some four or five hundred paces toward the south, there runs a small river. Arriving at Chitpour in one of my voyages, I pitched my tent under two or three trees at the end of a wide place near the town. A little while after I saw four or five lions appear, which were brought to be tamed; which they told me took them up five or six months; and their way to do it, is this: they tie the lions at twelve paces distance one from another by the hinder legs, with a rope fastened to a great wooden stake set deep in the ground, with another cord about the neck, which the master holds in his hand. These stakes are planted in the same line, and in another parallel they stretch out another cord as long as the space, which the bodies of the lions so disposed of, as I have described, take up. The two cords which hold the lion tied by the two hinder-feet, give him liberty to spring out as far as that long cord; which is a mark to those that stand to provoke and incense the lions, by throwing stones and pieces of wood at them, not to venture any

further : the people run to see the sight, and when the lion, provoked, gives a spring towards the cord, the master holds another in his hand tied about his neck, that pulls him back. Thus they accustom the lion by degrees to be familiar with the people, and at my coming to Chiapour, I saw this divertisement without stirring out of my coach.

The next day I had another, meeting with a knot of *Faquirs*, or Mahometan *Dervichs*. I counted fifty seven, among whom, he that was the chief or superior, had been Grand Esquire to Cha-jehan-guir, having left the court, when Sultan Boulaki, his youngest son, was strangled by order of Cha-jehan ; there were four others, who next to the superior, were chief of the company, who had been also great lords in the same Cha-jehan's court. All the cloths those five *Dervichs* had, were only four ells of orange colour Calicut to hide what modesty will have hid before and behind, and every one of them a tiger's skin over their shoulders tied together under their chins. They had led before them eight fair horses saddled ; three whereof had bridles of gold, and saddles covered with plates of gold, and the other five had bridles of silver covered with plates of silver, and a leopard's-skin upon every one. The other *Dervichs* had only a cord for their girdle, to which was fastened a piece of Calicut only to cover their private parts. Their hair was tied in wreaths round about their heads after the manner of a turban. They were all well-armed, the most part with bows and arrows, some with muskets, and others with half-pikes, with another sort of weapon which we have not in Europe ; that is to say, a sharp piece of iron like the side of a platter without a

bottom, which they wind eight or ten times about their necks, and carry like a calves chaldron. They draw out these iron-circles as they intend to make use of them ; and they will throw them with such a force against a man, that they shall fly as swift as an arrow, and go very near to cut a man in two in the middle. They had every one, besides all this, an hunting-horn, which they wind, making a prodigious noise when they come to any place, and when they go away ; together with a grater or rasp, being an iron-iustrument, made like a trowel. This is an instrument which the Indians carry generally about them when they travel, to scrape and make clean the places where they intend to rest ; and some of them, when they have scraped all the dust together into an heap, make use of it instead of a mattress or pillow to lie easily upon. There were some of them that were armed with long tucks ; which they had bought either of the English or Portugals. Their luggage consisted of four great chests full of Persian and Arabian books, and some kitchen-householdstuff : they had also ten or twelve oxen to carry their sick. When the *Dervichs* came to the place where I lay with my coach, having about fifty persons with me, as well of the people of the country, as of my own servants ; the chief or superior of the troop seeing me so well attended, enquired what *Aga* that was ; and desired me to let him have that place which I had taken up, as being the most convenient in all the place, for him and his *Dervichs* to lodge. When they told me the quality of the chief, and the four *Dervichs* that attended him, I was willing to be civil, and to yield to their request ; and thereupon I left them the place free. After they had well-watered the place,

and laid the dust, they lighted two fires, as if it had been in the frost and snow for the five principal *Derricks*, who sate and chafed themselves before and behind. That very evening, after they had supped, the Governor of the town came to compliment the principal *Derricks*, and during their stay, sent them rice and other things, which they are accustomed to eat. When they come to any place, the superior sends some of his crew a-begging into the towns and villages, and what alms they get, is presently distributed equally among them; every one of them taking care to boil his own rice. What is over and above they give to the poor in the evening; for they reserve nothing till next day

From Chilpour to Balampour, costes 12

From Balampour to Dantivar, costes 11

From Dantivar to Bargant, costes 17

Bargant is in the territories of a Raja, to whom you pay duties. In one of my journeys to Agra, passing through Bargant, I did not see the Raja, but only his Lieutenant, who was very civil to me, and made me a present of rice, butter, and fruit in season. To make him amends, I gave him three shashes of gold and silk, four handkerchiefs of painted linen and two bottles, the one full of *aqua vitæ*, and the other full of Spanish wine. At my departure he sent a convoy of twenty horse four or five leagues along with me.

One evening being about to lodge upon the frontiers of the territories of the Raja of Bargant, my people came to me and told me, that if we took the road through Bargant, we should go near to have all our throats cut, for that the Raja of that place lived altogether upon robbery. So that unless I hired an

hundred more of the country-people, there was no likelihood of escaping those treebooters. At first I argued with them, and taxed their cowardice, but fearing to pay for my rashness afterwards, I sent them to hire fifty more, for three days only, that we crossed the Raja's country : for which they asked me every one four roupies, which is as much as you give them for a whole month. The next day as I was about to set forward, my guard came and told me they would leave me, and that they would not venture their lives, desiring me not to write to Agra to their Captain, who was responsible for them, that they had left me against my will. Three of my servants also did as they did, so that I had no body left with me, but a man that lead an horse in his hand, my coachman, and three other servants, and so I set forward under the protection of God. About a league from the place which I had left, I perceived some part of my convoy following me. Thereupon I stopped my coach to stay for them, and when they came near, I bid them advance if they intended to go along with me. But seeing them fearful, and unresolved, I bid them go about their business, telling them I had no need of such cowards as they were. About a league from thence I discovered upon the brow of an hill about fifty horse, four of which came riding up to me ; when I perceived them, I alighted out of my coach, and having with me some thirteen spit-fires, I gave to every one of my men an harquebuss. The horse-men approaching, I kept my coach between them and me, and had my gun ready cockt, in case they should assail me. But they made me a sign, that I should fear nothing, only that the Prince was a-hunting, and had sent to know

what strangers passed through his territories. I made answer, that I was the same *Franguy* that had passed by five or six weeks before. By good luck, the very same Lieutenant to whom I had made the present of *aqua vitæ*, and Spanish-wine, followed those four horsemen. And after he had testified how glad he was to see me, he asked me if I had any wine ; I told him I never travelled without that : for indeed the English and Hollanders had presented me with several bottles at Agra. So soon as the Lieutenant was returned to the Raja, the Raja himself came to me, and told me I was welcome ; and bid me rest my self in a shady-place which he pointed to, about a league and an half from the place where we were. In the evening he came, and we staid together two days to make merry ; the Raja bringing along with him certain morrice-dancers, without which the Persians and Indians can never think themselves heartily merry. At my departure the Raja lent me 200 horse, to convoy me to the frontiers of his territories, for three days together ; for which I only gave them three or four pound of tobacco. When I came to Amadabat, the people would hardly believe that I had so kind a reception from a Prince, that was noted for abusing strangers that passed through his country.

From Bargant to Bimal, costes 15

From Bimal to Modra, costes 15

From Modra to Chalaour costes 10

Chalaour is an ancient town upon a mountain, encompassed with walls, and very difficult to come to. There is a lake at the top of the mountain, and another below ; between which and the foot of the mountain lies the road to the town.

From Chalaour to Cantap, costes	12
From Cantap to Setlana, costes	15
From Setlana to Palavaseny, costes	14
From Palavaseny to Pipars, costes	11
From Pipars to Mirda, costes	16

From Dantivar to Mirda is three days journey, being a mountainous country the belongs to Rajas, or particular Princes that pay tribute to the Great Mogul. In recompense whereof the Great Mogul gives them commands in his armies ; by which they gain much more than they loose by the tribute which they pay.

Midra is a great city, but ill-built. When I came thither in one of my Indian journeys, all the Inns were full of passengers, in regard that Cha-jehan's aunt, the wife of Cha-est-Kan, was going that way to marry her daughter to Sultan Sujah, the second son of Cha-jehan ; I was forced to set up my tent upon a bank, with trees on both sides. But I was not a little surprised two hours afterward, to see fifteen or twenty elephants loose, that tore down the boughs as far as they could reach, breaking off the huge arms of trees, as if they had been but small faggot-sticks. This spoil was done by the order of the Begum, in revenge of the affront which the inhabitants of Mirda had put upon her, who had not waited on her, and made her a present as they ought to have done.

From Mirda to Boronda, costes	12
From Boronda to Coetchiel, costes	18
From Coetchiel to Bander-Sonnery, costes	14
From Bander-Sonnery to Ladona, costes	16
From Ladona to Chasou, costes	12
From Chasou to Noudi, costes	17

From Noudi to Hindoo, costes 19

From Hindoo to Baniana, costes 10

These two last places are two towns, where, as in all the country round about, they make Indigo-plate, which is round ; and as it is the best of all the indigoes, so is it double the price.

From Baniana to Vettapour, costes 14

Vettapour is an ancient town where they make woollen hangings,

From Vettapour to Agra, costes 12

From Surat to Agra is in all, costes 415

If you could divide your journeys equally into thirteen costes a-piece, you might go to Surat in thirty-three days : but because you rest, and stay at some places, it is generally thirty-five or forty days journey.

CHAPTER VI.

The road from Ispahan to Agra, through Candahar.

I have made an exact description of some part of the road, and brought the reader as far as Candahar ; it remains, that I carry him from Candahar to Agra ; to which there are but two ways to go, either through Caboul, or through Multan. The latter way is the shorter by ten days, journey. But the caravan never goes that way. For from Candahar to Multan you travel almost all the way to deserts ; and sometimes you travel three or four days without meeting any water. So that the most ordinary

and beaten road, is through Caboul. Now from Candahar to Caboul, is twenty-four days, journey ; from Caboul to Lahor, twenty-two ; from Lahor to Dehly, or Gehanabat, eighteen ; from Dehly to Agra, six ; which with the sixty days, journey from Ispahan to Farat, and the twenty from Farat to Candahar, makes in all from Ispahan to Agra, an hundred and fifty days journey. But the merchants that are in haste, take horses, three or four together in a company, and ride the whole journey in sixty-five days at most.

Multan is a city where there is made a vast quantity of linen Calicuts, which was all transported to Tuta, before the sands had stopped up the mouth of the river ; but since that, it is carried all to Agra, and from Agra to Surat, as the greatest part of the merchandize which is made at Lahore. But in regard carriage is so dear, very few merchants traffic either to Multan or at Lahore ; and many of the workmen have also deserted those places, so that the King's revenues are very much diminished in those provinces. Multan is the place whither all the Banians come, that trade into Persia, where they follow the same trade as the Jews, and out-do them in usury. They have a particular law among them, which permits them to eat fowl upon certain days in the year ; and not to have more than one wife among two or three brothers, the eldest whereof is accounted the father of the children. This city also breeds abundance of dancers, of both sexes, that spread themselves all over Persia.

I come now to the road from Candahar to Agra, through Caboul and Lahore.

From Candahar to Charisafar, costes 10

From Charisafar, to Zelate, costes 12

From Zelate to Betazy, costes 8

From Betazy to Mezour, costes 6

From Mezour to Carabat, costes 17

From Carabat to Chakenicouze, costes 17

From Cāndahar to Chakenicouze, a frontier town of the Indies, is a country under the command of several Princes, that acknowledge the Persian Emperor.

From Chakenicouze to Caboul, costes 40

In all those forty costes of way, there are but three pitiful villages; where sometimes, though very rarely, you have bread and barley for your horses; but the surest way is to carry provision along with you. In the months of July and August, there blows a hot wind in those parts, that takes away a mans breath, and kills him upon the place; being of the same nature with those winds, of which I have spoken in my Persian relations, that blow at certain seasons near Babylon and Moussull.

Caboul is a large city, very well fortified; and is the place where those of Usbek come every year to sell their horses. They reckon, that there are bought and sold, every year, above sixty thousands. They bring also out of Persia, great numbers of sheep, and other cattle; it being the general course of Persians, Tartarians, and Indians. There is also wine to be had; but provisions go of at a very good rate.

Before I go any farther, I must take notice of one thing in particular, concerning the people called Augans, who inhabit from Candahar to Caboul, toward the mountains of Balch, a sturdy sort of people, and great robbers in the night-time. It is the

custom of the Indians to cleanse and scrape their tongues every morning with a crooked piece of a root, which causes them to void a great quantity of phlegm and rhum, and provokes vomitting. Now though those people that inhabit the frontiers of Persia and India practise the same thing; nevertheless they vomit very little in the morning, but when they come to eat, as soon as they have swallowed two or three bits, their lungs begin to swell, and they are constrained to go forth and vomit; after which, they return again to their victuals with a very good appetite. Should they not do so, they would not live above thirty years; and besides, they would be troubled with the dropsy.

From Caboul to Bariabe, costes 19

From Bariabe to Nimela, costes 17

From Nimela to Aliboua, costes 19

From Aliboua to Taka, costes 17

From Taka to Kiemri, costes 6

From Kiemri to Chaour, Costes 14

From Chaour to Novechaar, costes 14.

From Novechaar, to Atek, costes 19

Atek is a city situated upon a point of land where two rivers meet together. It is one of the best and strongest garrisons the Great Mogul has; into which there is no stranger permitted to enter without a passport from the King. Father Roux the Jesuit and his companion, going this way to Ispahan, and not having the King's passport, were forced to return back to Lahor, where they embarked upon the river for Scimdi, from whence they passed into Persia.

From Atek to Calapane, costes 16

From Calapane to Roupate, costes 16

From Roupate to Toulapeca, costes	16'
From Toulapeca to Keraly, costes	19
From Keraly to Zerabad, costes	16'
From Zerabad to Imiabad, costes	18
From Imiabad to Lahor, costes	18

Lahor is the metropolis of a kingdom, built upon one of the five rivers that descend from the mountains of the north to swell the river Indus; and give the name of Peniab to all the region which they water. This river at this time flows not within a league of the town, being subject to change its channel, and many times does very great mischief to the adjoining fields, through the rapid deluges which it makes. The city is large, and extends itself above a league in length. But the greatest part of houses, which are higher than those of Agra and Dehly, fall to ruin, by reason of the excessive rains that have overflowed a great number of them. The King's place is an indifferent fair one, and is not, as formerly it was, upon the river, which is fallen off above a quarter of a league from it. There is wine to be had at Lahor.

I must observe by the bye, that after you have passed Lahor, and the kingdom of Kakemir, that lies upon it toward the north, none of their women have any hair upon any part of their bodies, and the men but very little upon their chins.

From Lahor to Menat-kan, costes	12
From Menat-kan to Faty-Abad, costes	15
From Faty-Abad to Sera-Daken, costes	15
From Sera-Daken to Sera-Balour, costes	15
From Sera-Balour to Sera-Dourai, costes	12
From Sera-Dourai to Serinde, costes	17
From Serinde to Sera-Mogoul, costes	15

From Sera-Mogoul to Sera-Chabas, costes	14
From Sera-Chabas to Dirauril, costes	17
From Dirauril to Sera-Crindal, costes	14
From Sera-Crindal to Guienaour, costes	21
From Guienaour to Dehly, costes	24

Before you go any farther, you are to take notice that all the way from Lahor to Dehly, and from Dehly to Agra, is a continual walk set on both sides with fair trees; an object most pleasing to the sight: but in some places the trees are decayed, and there is no care taken to plant others in their stead.

Dehly is a great city near the river Gemna, which runs from the north to the south, afterwards from the west to the east; and after it has passed by Agra and Kadione, empties it self into the Ganges. After Cha-jehan had built the new city of Gehanabad, which is called by his own name; and where he chose rather to keep his court, than at Agra, because the climate is more temperate. Dehly is almost come to ruin, and indeed is nothing but an heap of rubbish; there being no other houses remaining but only for poor people. The streets are narrow, and the houses of bambouc, as over all the rest of the Indies. Neither are there above three or four lords of the court that reside at Dehly, where they set up their tents in great enclosures, and in the same manner lodged the reverend Jesuit that was at court.

Gehanabad, as well as Dehly, is a great city; and there is nothing but a single wall that make the separation. All the houses of particular men consist of great enclosures, in the midst whereof is the place for lodgings. The greatest part of the lords do not live in the city, but have their houses without, for

the conveniency of the water. As you enter into Gehanabad from Dehly, you meet with a long and broad street, on each side whereof are vaults, where the merchants keep shops, being only plat-formed at the top. This street ends in the great piazza before the King's house ; and there is another very fair and large street, that runs toward another gate of the same palace, in which live the great merchants that keep no shops.

The King's palace takes up above half a league circuit : the walls are of fair cut-stone with battlements. The moats are full of water, paved with free-stone. The great gate of the palace has nothing in it so magnificence ; no more than the first court, into which the great lords may enter upon their elephants.

Having passed that court, you enter into another long and large passage, with fair porticoes on both sides. Under which are several little chambers, where part of the horse-guard lies. These porticoes are raised some two foot above the ground, and the horses which are tied without, feed upon the steps. In some places there are great gates that lead to several apartments ; as to the women's lodgings, and to the seat of justice. In the midst of the passage runs a cut full of water, leaving a fair walk on each side, where, at equal distances, are little basons or fountains.

This long passage carries you into a great court, where the *Omrahs*, that is to say, the great lords of of the kingdom, such as the *Bashaes* in Turkey, and the *Kans* in Persia, keep guard in person. They have low lodgings round about the court, and their horses are tied to their doors.

From the second court you pass into a third, through a great portal; on one side whereof there is a little hall, raised some two or three steps high from the ground. This is the wardrobe where the royal garments are kept; and from whence the King sends for the *Calaat*, or a whole habit for a man, when he would honour any stranger or any one of his own subjects. A little farther, under the same portal, is the place where the drums, trumpets, and hautboys are laid up; which they found and beat a little before the King enters into his judgment-seat, to give notice to the *Omrahs* and they make the same noise when the King is ready to rise. Entering into the third court, you see the divan before you, where the King gives audience. This is a great hall raised some four foot high above the superficies of the court, with three sides open. Thirty-two pillars sustain as many arches; and these columns are about four-foot-square, with pedestals and mouldings. When Cha-jehan first began to build this hall, he intended to have enriched it, and inlaid it all over with those stones that seem to be naturally painted, like those in the great Duke of Tuscany's Chapel. But having made a trail upon two or three pillars, about two or three-foot-high, he found that there would not be stones enough, of that sort, in the world to finish the work; besides the vastness of the sum it would come to. So that he left off his design, contenting himself with a painting of several flowers.

In the middle of this hall, next to the side which looks toward the court, there is a throne erected upon a kind of theatre, where the King gives audience, and pronounces judgment. The

throne is a little bed with four columns, about the bigness of one of our field-beds, with a canopy, backpiece, boulder and counterpoint, all embroidered with diamonds. Besides all this, when the King comes to sit upon the throne, they throw over the bed a coverlet of cloth of gold, or some other richly-embroidered silk; and he ascends by three little steps, two-foot-broad. On one side of the bed is erected an umbrella upon a staff, as long as an half-pike. Upon one of the pillars of the throne hangs one of the King's weapons; upon another his buckler; upon another his scimitar; and then his bow and quiver of arrows, and other things of the same nature.

Below the throne there is a place some twenty-foot-square, encompassed with balusters which at some times are covered with plates of silver, at other times with plates of gold. At the four corners of this small enclosure sit the four Secretaries of state, who as well in civil as criminal causes do the duty of advocates. Many lords stand about this balustrade; and there is also the music placed that plays all the while the King in the *Divan*. This music is so sweet and soft, that it never takes off the mind from the seriousness of business at that time managed. The King being sat upon his throne, some great lords stand by him; generally it is some one of his own children. Between eleven o'clock and noon, the *Nahab*, who is the chief Minister of state, like the Grand Vizier in Turkey, makes a report to the King of what has past in the chamber where he presides, which is at the entry of the first court; and when he has done speaking, the King rises. For you must

take notice, that from the time that the King is sate upon his throne, till he rises, no person whatsoever is permitted to stir out of the palace ; and yet I can say that the King dispensed with my performance of this law so generally observed by all the court : the occasion whereof was thus in short.

Being one day going out of the palace, while the King was sitting in the *Divan*, upon some urgent business that would admit of no delay, the Captain of the guards held me by the arm, and told me I should go no farther ; I contested and argued the case with him for some time, but finding his usuage to be very boisterous, I lifted up my cane, and had certainly strook him in my passion, had not two or three of the guards that saw all the passages, held my hand. Happily for me at that time, the *Nahab*, who was then the King's uncle, came by, and being informed of the ground of our quarrel ; ordered the Captain of the guards to let me go. After that he made a report to the King how the matter stood ; and toward evening the *Nahab* sent me one of his servants to tell me, it was his Majesty's pleasure, that I might come in or go out of the palace, though he were sitting in the *Divan*, as I pleased my self ; for which I went the next day, and returned thanks to the *Nahab*.

Toward the middle of the same court there is a small channel some five or six inches broad, where while the King is sitting upon the seat of justice, they that have business are to stand. Further it is not lawful for them to go, till they are called ; and ambassadors themselves are not exempted from this custom. When an ambassador, comes as far as this channel, the Master of the Ceremonies calls out

toward the *Divan* where the King is sitting, that such an ambassador craves audience of his Majesty. Then one of the Secretaries of state declares it to the King ; who oftentimes makes as if he did not hear : but some time after lifting up his eyes, he casts them upon the ambassador, making him a sign by the same Secretary, that he may approach.

From the hall of the *Divan*, turning to the left, you walk upon a terrass, where you discover the river. Over this terrass the King passes into a little chamber, from whence he goes into his harem. In this little chamber it was that I had my first audience of his Majesty ; as I shall relate in another place.

Upon the left hand of the court where the *Divan* is built, stands a little Mosque neatly built ; the cupola where of is covered with lead perfectly gilded. Here the King goes to hear prayers every day, except it be Fridays, when he is to go to the great Mosque, which is a very fair one, and placed upon an high platform, raised higher than the houses of the city, and there is a noble ascent to it. That day that the King goes to the Mosque, they place huge rails of wood round about the steps, as well to keep off the elephants, as out of respect to the Mosque.

The right side of the court is taken up with porticoes that make a long gallery, raised from the ground about half a foot ; and these are the King's stables into which you have many doors to enter. They are also full of stately horses, the worst whereof stands the King in three thousand crowns ; and there are some that cost him ten thousand. At the door of every one of these stables

hangs a kind of mat made of bambouc, that cleaves like our osiers. But where as we bind our osiers twigs with the same osier, they bind their bamboucs with wreathed-silk, which is delicate work, but very tedious. These mats are to hinder the flies from tormenting the horses; there being two grooms to an horse, one of which is still employed in fanning the beast. There are also mats spread before the porticoes, and before the stable-door; which they spread or take away as occasion requires. And the floor of the gallery is covered with fair carpets, which is taken away in the evening, and the horses litter strowed in the same place. Which litter is nothing but the horse-dung dried in the sun, and then squeezed a little flat. The horses that are brought into India either out of Persia, Arabia, or the country of Usbech, change their food: for in India they never give them hay nor oats. Every horse in the morning having for his proportion three loaves made of meal, wheat, and butter, as big as one of our sixpenny-loaves. It is an hard matter to bring them to this diet at first; it being sometimes three or four months before they can do it. The groom is forced to hold their tongue in one hand, and to thrust down the bread with the other. When sugar-canes or millet are in season, they give them that diet about noon; and in the evening, two hours before sun-set they give them a measure of garden-chiches which the groom squeezes between two stones, and mixes with water. This is instead of barley and oats. As for the King's other stables, where he has also very fine horses, they are scurvy places, ill-built, which deserve not to be mentioned.

The Gemene is a fair river that bears good big boats, which running to Agra loses its name, falling into Ganges at Hallabas. The King has several small brigantines at Gehanabad upon the river, to take his pleasure in, and they are very curiously trimmed after the manner of the country.

CHAPTER VII.

In continuance of the same road from Dehly to Agra.

From Dehly to Badelpoura, costes	8
From Badelpoura to Pelvelki-sera, costes	18
From Pelvelki-sera to Cotki-sera, costes	15
From Cotki-sera to Cheki-sera, costes	16

At Cheki-sera is one of the greatest pagods of the Indians, together with an hospital for apes; as well for those that breed thereabouts, as for those that come from the neighbouring parts, which the Banians are very careful to feed. This pagod is called *Matura*, and it was formerly in far greater veneration than it is at this day. The reason is, because the Gemene ran then just at the very foot of the pagod; wherein the Banians, as well those of the country, as those that came from remote parts in pilgrimage, had the convenience to wash themselves before they went to their devotions; and when they had performed them, to wash again before they eat; which they are not to do ere they have washed; believing also that if they wash in

running-water, their sins will be the more easily defaced. But some years since the river, changing its course more to the northward, comes not within a good league of the pagod, which is the reason that the pilgrims have deserted it.

From Cheki-sera to Goodki-sera, costes 5

From Goodki-sera to Agra, costes 6

Agra lies in 27deg. 31min. of lat. and in a sandy-soil, which causes extremity of heat. It is the biggest city in India, and formerly the residence of their Kings. The houses of great persons are fair, and well built; but the houses of the meaner-sort are as plain, as in all the other cities of India. They are built a good distance one from another, and hid by the height of their walls, to keep their women from being seen: so that it may be easily conjectured that their cities are nothing so pleasant as ours in Europe. Add to this, that Agra being encompassed round with the sands, the heats are there very excessive, which constrained Cha-jehan to remove from thence, and to keep his court at Gehanabad.

All that is remarkable in Agra is the King's palace; and some monuments as well near the city, as in the parts about it. The palace of the King is a vast piece of ground encompassed with a double-wall, which is terrassed in some parts, and in those parts are built certain lodgings for some of the officers of the court: the Gemene runs before the palace; but between the wall and the river there is a large space of ground, where the King causes his elephants to fight. This field is on purpose near the water, because that the elephant which gets the victory, being in a fury, they could not

bring him to himself, did they not drive him into the river : to which end they are forced to have recourse to policy, by tying squibs and crackers to the end of an half-pike, and then giving fire to them to fright him into the water : for when he is in but two or three foot-deep, he is presently appeased.

There is a wide piazza upon one side of the city before the palace, and the first gate, wherein there is nothing of magnificence, is guarded by a few soldiers. Before the King removed his court from Agra to Gehanabad, when he went into the country for some time, he gave to some one of his greatest *Omrahs*, who was his confidante, the guard of his palace, where his treasure lay; and till the return of the King he never stirred out of the gate, where he lodged, neither by night nor day. At such a time that it was that I was, permitted to see the palace of Agra. The King being departed of Gehanabad, whither all the court followed him, together with the women, the government of the palace was given to one that was a great friend of the *Hollanders*, and indeed to all the *Franguis*. Menheir Velant, chief of the Holland factory at Agra, so soon as the King was departed, went to visit the lord, and to present him according to custom. The present was worth about 6000 crowns, and consisted in spices, cabinets of Japan, and fine Holland-cloth. He desired me to go along with him when he went to compliment the Governor. But the lord being offended that he had put himself to so much charge, forced him to carry the present back again, taking only one Japan cane, of six that were in the present, telling him he would have no more, out of the kindness which he had for the

Franguis. Nay, he would not so much as take the gold-head and ferula, but caused them to be taken off. The compliments being over, the Governor asked Menheir Velant, wherein he might serve him : whereupon he desiring the favour, than since the court was gone, he might see the inside of the palace, the Governor granted his request, and ordered six men to attend him.

The first gate where the Governor of the palace lies, is a long blind arch, which leads you into a large court all environed with porticoes ; like our piazza in Covent-Garden. The gallery in front is larger and higher than any of the rest, sustained by three ranks of pillars, and under those galleries on the other side of the court which are narrower and lower, are little chambers for the soldiers of the guard. In the midst of the large gallery, is a niche in the wall, into which the King descends out of his harem by a private pair of stairs, and when he is in, he seems to be in a kind of a tomb. He has no guards with him then, for he has no reason to be afraid of any thing ; there being no way to come at him. In the heat of the day he keeps himself there only with one eunuch, but more often with one of his children, to fan him. The great lords of the court stay below in the gallery under the niche all the while.

At the farther end of this court is another gate that leads into a second court encompassed with galleries, underneath which, are little chambers for some officers of the palace. The second court carries you into a third, which is the King's quarter. Cha-jehan had resolved to cover with silver all the arch of a gallery upon the right-hand. And

a French-man, Austin de Bordeaux by name, was to have done the work : but the King not finding any one in his whole kingdom so capable as the French-man was to treat with the Portugals at Goa about some important affair he had at this time ; the design was laid aside : for they being afraid of Austin's parts, poisoned him upon his return to Cochin. This gallery is painted with branched-work of gold and azure, and the lower-part is hung with tapestry. There are several doors under the gallery that lead into little square chambers ; of which we saw two or three opened, and they told us all the rest were such. The other three sides of the court lie all open, there being nothing but a single wall, no higher than for a man to lean over. On the side that looks toward the river there is a *Divan*, or a kind of out-jutting balcony, where the King sits to see his brigantines, or to behold his elephants fight. Before the *Divan* is a gallery, that serves for a portico ; which Cha-jekan had a design to have adorned all over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies that should have represented to the live grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this design which made such a noise in the world, and required more riches, than all the world could afford to perfect, remains unfinished ; there being only three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought to have been ; and enamelled in their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies and granites wrought into the fashion of grapes. In the middle of the court stands a great Fat to bathe in, 40 foot in diameter, cut out of one entire grey stone, with steps wrought out of the same stone within and without.

As for the monuments which are in and about Agra, they are very fair ones, for there is scarce an eunuch belonging to the King's harem, that is not very ambitious of leaving a fair monument behind him. Indeed, when they heaped together great sums, they would fain be going to Mecca, and making rich presents to Mahomet. But the Great Mogul, unwilling to let his money go out of his country, will seldom permit them leave to undertake that pilgrimage: and therefore not knowing what to do with their money, they employ a great part thereof in monuments to perpetuate their memories.

Of all the monuments that are to be seen at Agra, that of the wife of Cha-jehan is the most magnificent; she caused it to be set up on purpose near the Tasimacan, to which all strangers must come, that they should admire it. The Tasimacan is a great *Bazar*, or market-place, composed of six great courts, all encompassed with porticoes; under which there are warehouses for merchants; and where there is a prodigious quantity of calicuts vended. The monument of this *Begum*, or Sultanness, stands on the east-side of the city, upon the river side, in a great place enclosed with walls, upon which there runs a little gallery, as upon the walls of many cities in Europe. This place is a kind of garden with compartments, like our garden-plots; but whereas our walks are made with gravel, here the walks are black and white marble. You enter into this place through a large portal; and presently upon the left hand you espy a fair gallery, that looks towards Mecca; wherein there are three or four

niches, wherein the *Musty* comes at certain hours to pray. A little beyond the middle of the place, toward the water, are three great platforms, one raised above another, with four towers at the four corners of each, and stairs within, upon the top whereof they call the people before the time of their prayer. On the top there is a cupola, little less magnificent than that of Val de Grace in Paris; it is covered within and without with black marble, the middle being of brick. Under this cupola is an empty tomb; for the Begum is entered under the arch of the lowest platform. The same change of ceremonies which is observed under ground, is observed above. For they change the tapestries, candles, and other ornaments at several times, and there are always *Mollahs* attending to pray. I saw the beginning and completing of this great work that cost two and twenty years labour, and twenty thousand men always at work; so that you cannot conceive but that the expence must be excessive. Cha-jehan had begun to raise his own monument on the other side of the river; but the wars with his son, broke off that design, nor did Aurengzeb, now reigning, ever take any care to finish it. There is an eunuch who commands two thousand men, that is entrusted to guard not only the sepulchre of the Begum, but also the Tasimacan.

On another side of the city, appears the sepulchre of King Akabar. And as for the sepulchres of the eunuchs, they have only one platform, with four little chambers at the four corners. When you come to Agra from Dehly, you meet a great *Bazar*; near to which there is a garden, where King Jehanguire, father of Cha-jehan, lies interred. Over

the garden gate you see the tomb it self, beset with portraitures,* covered with a black hearse-cloth, or pall, with torches of white wax, and two Jesuits attending at each end. There are some who wonder, that Cha-jehan against the practice of the Mahometans, who abhor images, did permit of carving ; but the reason conjectured at is, that it is done upon the consideration that his father and himself learnt from the Jesuit certain principles of mathematics and astrology. Though he had not the same kindness for them at another time ; for going one day to visit an Armenian, that lay sick, whose name was Corgia, whom he loved very well and had honored with several employments, at what time the Jesuit who lived next to the Armenians house, rang their bell ; the sound thereof so displeased the King, as being a disturbance to the sick person, that in a great fury he commanded the bell to be taken away, and hung about his elephants neck. Some few days after, the King seeing his elephant with that great bell about his neck, fearing so great a weight might injure his elephant, caused the bell to be carried to the *Conteval*, which is a kind of a railed place, where a Provost sits as a judge, and decides differences among the people of that quarter, where it has hung ever since. This Armenian had been brought up with Cha-jehan ; and in regard he was an excellent wit, and an excellent poet, he was very much in the Kings favour, who had conferred upon him many fair commands, though he could never either by threats or promises win him to turn Mahometan.

See page 91. The money of the King of Persia. Travels in India.

N. 1



N. 3



N. 3



N. 2



N. 2



N. 4



N. 4



N. 7



N. 7



N. 5



N. 5



N. 6



N. 6



CHAPTER VIII.

The road from Agra to Fatna, and Dacca, cities in the Province of Bengala, and of the quarrel which the author had with Cha-est-Kan, the King's uncle

I departed from Agra toward Bengala the 25th of November 1665, and that day I reached no farther than a very bad inn, distant from Agra, costes

3

The 26th I came to Beruzabad, costes

9

This is a little city where, at my return, I received eight thousand roupies, being the remainder of the money which Giafer-Kan owed me for wares that he had bought at Janabat.

The 27th to Serael Morlides, costes

9

The 28th to Serail Estanja, costes

14

The 29th to Serail Haii-mal, costes

12

The 30th to Serail Sekandera, costes

13

The 1st of December to Sanqual, costes

14

I met that day 110. waggons, every waggon drawn by six oxen, and in every waggon 50,000 roupies. This is the revenue of the province of Bengala, with all charges defraidd, and the Governors purse well-filled, comes to 5,500,000 roupies. A league beyond Sanqual, you must pass a river called Saingour, which runs into Gemine, not above half a league distant from it. You pass over this river of Saingour upon a stone-bridge, and when you come from toward Bengala to go to Seronge or Surat, if you have a mind to shorten your journey ten days, you must leave Agra-road, and come to this bridge, and so ferry over Gemine in a boat.

only a rib or two bruised ; whereupon the kindred of the woman came and demanded justice, at the feet of the Governor. The Governor sending for the physician, comanded him to be gone, resolving to retain him no longer in his service. The physician obeyed, and putting his maimed wife in a palanquin, he set forward upon the road with all his family. But he was not gone above three or four days journey from the city, when the Governor finding himself worse than he was wont to be, sent to recall him ; which the physician perceiving, stabbed his wife, his four children, and thirteen female slaves, and returned again to the Governor, who said not a word to him, but entertained him again into his service.

The eighth, day I crossed the river in a large boat, having stayed from morning till noon upon the bank-side, expecting Monsieur Maille, to bring me a passport from the Governor. For there stands a *Derega*, upon each side of the river, who will not suffer any person to pass without leave ; and he takes notice what sort of goods are transported ; there being due from every waggon four roupies, and from every coach one ; not accounting the charge of the boat, which you must pay beside.

The same day I went to Sadoul-serail, costes 16

The ninth, to Takedel-sera, costes 10

The tenth, to Bouraki-sera, costes 10

The eleventh, to Banarou, costes 10

Banarou, ia a large city, and handsomely built ; the most part of the houses being either of brick or stone and higher than in any other cities of India ; but the inconveniency is, that the streets are very narrow. There are many inns in the

town; among the rest, one very large, and very handsomely built in the middle of the court are two galleries, where are to be sold calicuts, silks, and other sorts of merchandise. The greatest part of the sellers, are the workmen themselves; so that the merchants buy at the first hand. These workmen, before they expose any thing to sale, must go to him that has the stamp, to have the King's seal set upon their linen and silks; otherwise they would be fined, and lambasted with a good cudgel. This city is situated upon the north side of Ganges, that runs by the walls, and into which there falls also another river, some two leagues toward the west. In Banarou stands one of the idolaters principal pagods, whereof I shall speak in my second book, when I come to treat of the religion of the Banians.

About five hundred paces from the city northward, there is a Mosque, where are to be seen many Mahometan sepulchres; whereof some are very curious pieces of architecture. The fairest are every one in the middle of a garden enclosed with walls, wherein there are holes some half a foot square, through which passengers may have a sight to the tomb within. The most considerable of all is as it were four square pedestal, every square whereof is forty paces wide. In the midst of this platform rises a column thirty-two or thirty-five foot high, all of a piece, which three men can hardly embrace. The stone is of a grey colour, and so hard that I could not scrape it with my knife. As it is pyramidical, there is a great bowl at the top, which is encompassed at the upper end with huge grains of wheat. All the fronts of the tomb are full

of figures of animals cut in the stone ; and it has been higher above ground than now it seems to be, for several old men, that looked to some of the sepulchres, assured me, that within these fifty years it had sunk above thirty foot into the earth. They tell you moreover, that it is the sepulchre of one of the Kings of Boutan who was interred here after he had left his own country to conquer this kingdom, out of which he was driven by the successors of Tamerlane. The kingdom of Boutan is the place from whence they fetch musk, and I will give you a description of it in my third book.

I stayed at Banarou the 12th and 13th ; and during those two days it rained continually, but not so as to stop my journey ; so that the evening of the thirteenth day I crossed the Ganges, with the Governor's pass-port. Before you go into the boat, they search the travellers baggage ; wearing apparel however pays nothing of custom, but only merchandise.

The 13th, I went to Baterpour, costes 2

The 14th, to Satraguy-sera, costes 8

The 15th, to Moniarky-sera, costes 9

The same day in the morning, after I had travelled two leagues, I crossed a river called Carnasarsou ; and three leagues, I crossed another, which they call Saode-sou ; both which I forded.

The 16th, to Gourmabad, costes 8

This is a town upon a river called Goudera-sou, which is crossed over a stone-bridge.

The 17th, to Saseron, costes 4

Saseron is a city at the foot of certain mountains, near to which there is a great lake. In the middle whereof there is a small island, with a fair Mosque

built upon it ; wherein is to be seen, the sepulchre of a *Nahab* or favourite, called Selim-Kan ; who built it when he was Governor of the province. There is a fair bridge to cross over into the island, paved and lined with large free-stone. Upon one side of the lake is a great garden, in the middle whereof is another fair sepulchre of the son of the same *Nahab*, Selim-Kan, who succeeded his father in the Government of the province. If you would go to the mine of Soulmelpour, whereof I shall speak in the last book of these relation, you must leave the great road to Patna, and bend to the south through Exberborough, and the famous fortress of Rhodes, of which I shall treat in the same place.

The 18th, I ferried in a boat over the river, Sonson, which descends from the southern mountains ; after you have crossed it, the merchandise pays, a certain toll.

The same day I travelled on to Daoud-Nagarsera, where there is a fair tomb, costes. 9

The 19th, to Halva-sera, costes 10

The 20th, to Aga-sera, costes 9

In the morning I met a hundred and thirty elephants, great and small, which they were lending to Delhi to the Great Mogul.

The one and twentieth, to Patna, costes 10

Patna is one of the greatest cities of India, upon the bank of Ganges, toward the west ; not being less than two leagues in length. But the houses are no fairer than in the greatest part of the other cities of India ; being covered with bambouc, or straw. The Holland Company have a house there, by reason of their trade in saltpetre,

which they refine at a great town called Choupar, which is also situated upon Ganges, ten leagues above Patna.

Coming to Patna, we met the Hollanders, in the street returning from Choupar, who stopped our coaches to salute us. We did not part, till we had emptied two bottles of *Schiras* wine in the open street; which is not taken notice of in that country, where people meet with an entire freedom without any ceremony.

I stayed eight days at Patna, during which time there fell out an accident, which will let the reader understand, that sodomy does not go altogether unpunished among the Mahumetans. A Mimbachi, who commanded a thousand foot, went about to abuse a young boy in his service; and who had several times resisted his attempts; complaining also to the Governor, and telling him withall, that if his master persisted to urge him any more, he would certainly kill him. At length the Captain took his opportunity, at a house which he had in the country, and forced the boy. The boy overwhelmed with grief and rage, took his opportunity also to revenge himself; and being one day hunting with his master, about a quarter of a league from any of his other servants, he got behind him, and cleft his head with his hanger. After he had done, he rode full speed to the city, crying out all the way, that he had killed his master for such a reason; and went immediately to the Governor's lodging; who sent him to prison; but he let him out at the end of six months; and not withstanding all the endeavours which the Captain's kindred used to have had him

put to death, the Governor durst not condemn him, for fear of the people, who affirmed that the boy had done well.

I parted from Patna in a boat for Dacca, the nine and twentieth of January, between eleven and twelve at noon; and had the river been deep as it uses to be after the rains, I had taken boat at Hallabas, or at least at Banarou.

The same day I come to lye at Sera-Beconcour, costes 15

Five leagues on this side Beconcour, you meet with a river called Pomponson, which comes from the south, and falls into Ganges.

The thirtieth to Sera-d' Erija, costes 17

The one and thirtieth, after we had travelled four leagues, or thereabout, we met with the river Kaoa, which comes from the south. Three leagues lower, you meet with another river called Chanon, which comes from the north. Four leagues farther, you discover the river Erguga, which runs from the south; and at length, six leagues beyond, the river Aquera, falling from the same part of the world; all which four rivers lose their names in the Ganges. All that day I saw great mountains toward the south, distant from Ganges sometimes ten, and sometimes fifteen leagues, till at length I came to lodge in Monger-city, costes 8

The first day of January, 1666, after I had gone by water two hours, I saw the Gandet fall into the Ganges, flowing from the north. This is a great river, that carries boats.

That evening I lay at Zangira, costes 8

But in regard of the winding of Ganges all

that days journey, I might well reckon them by water two and twenty leagues.

The second day, from between six in the morning till eleven, I saw three rivers that threw themselves into Ganges; all three descending from the north.

The first is called Ronova, the second Tae, the third Chanan.

I came to lye at Baquelpour, costes 18

The third, after four hours upon the Ganges, I met the river Katre, which comes from the north; and lay at a village called Pongangel, at the foot of certain mountains that descend to Ganges it self, costes 13

The fourth, an hours rowing beyond Pongangel, I met a great river called Mart-Nadi, coming from the south; and I lay at Rage-Mehale, costes 6

Rage-Mehale, is a city upon the right hand of Ganges; and if you go by land, you shall find the high-way, for a league or two, paved with brick to the town. Formerly the Governors of Bengala resided here; it being an excellent country for hunting, besides that it was a place of great trade. But now the river having taken another course, above a good half league from the city, as well for that reason, as to keep in awe the King of Aracan, and several Portuguese banditti, who are retired to the mouths of Ganges, and made excursions even as far as Dacca it self; both the Governor and the merchants have removed themselves to Dacca, which is at present a large city, and a town of great trade.

The sixth, being arrived at a considerable town, called Donapour, six leagues from Rage-Mehale

I parted with Monsieur Bernier, who was going to Casenbasar, and thence to Ogouly by land; for when the river is low, there is no going by water, by reason of a great bank of sand that lies before a city called Santiqui.

I lay that night at Toutipour, distant from Rage-Mehale, costes 12

I saw there at sun-rising a great number of crocodiles lying upon the sand.

The seventh, I came to Acerat, costes 25

From Acerat to Dacca, it is counted by land forty-five leagues. All that day I saw such a vast number of crocodiles, that I had a great desire to shoot at one, to try whether the vulgar report were true, that a musket-shot would not pierce their skin. The bullet hit him in the jaw, and made the blood gush out; however it would not stay in the place, but plunged into the river.

The eighth, I saw again a great number lying upon the bank of the river, and made two shot at two with three bullets at a time. As soon as they were wounded, they turned themselves upon their backs, opening their throats, and died upon the spot.

That day I came to lie at Douloudia, costes 17

The crows were here the cause that we found a very fair fish, which the fishermen had hid among the osiers by the side of the river; for when our water-men saw the crows in great numbers hovering, and making an hideous noise about the osiers, they presently conjectured that there was something more than ordinary: and they made so diligent a search, that at length they found an excellent dish of meat.

The ninth two hours after noon, we met with a river called Chativor, that runs from the north, and we lay at Dampour, costes 16

The tenth, we lay by the river-side in a place remote from houses, and we travelled that day, costes 15.

The eleventh, toward evening, being come to that part where Ganges divides it self into three arms, whereof one runs to Dacca; we lay at a large town, upon the entry of the great channel, which town is called Jitrapour, costes 20

They that have no luggage, may make a short-cut from Jitrapour to Dacca, and save much ground, by reason of the many windings of the river.

The twelfth, about noon, we past by a large village called Bagamara, and came to lie at Kasiata, another great town, costes 11

The thirteenth, about noon we met with a river, two leagues from Dacca, called Laquia, which runs from the north-east. Just against the point where the two rivers join, there stands a fortress of each side, with several pieces of cannon. Half a league lower, appears another river called Pagalu, upon which there is a fair bridge of brick, which Mirza-Mola caused to be built. This river comes from the north-east; and half league upward appears another river called Cadamtaki, that runs from the north, over which there is another bridge of brick. On both sides of the river are several towers, as it were incased with several heads of men, executed for robbing upon the high-way.

About evening we came to Dacca, having travelled by water that day, costes 9

Daca is a great town, that extends it self only in length; every one coveting to have an house by the Ganges-side. The length of this town is above two leagues. And indeed from the last brick-bridge which I mentioned to Dacca, there is but one continued row of houses separated one from the other; inhabited for the most part by carpenters, that build galleys and other smalls vassels. These houses are properly no more than paltry huts built up with bambouces, and daubed over with fat earth. Those of Dacca are not much better built: the Governor's palace is a place enclosed with high walls, in the midst whereof is a pitiful house, built only of wood. He generally lodges in tents, which he causes to be set up in a great court of that enclosure. The Hollanders finding that their goods were not safe in the ordinary houses of Dacca, have built them a very fair house; and the English have another, which is reasonably handsome. The Church of the Austin-Friars is all of brick, and is a very comely pile,

When I travelled last to Dacca, the *Nahab* Cha-est-Kan, who was then the Governor of Bengala, was at war with the King of Aracan, whose naval-force consists generally of 200 galeasses, attended by several other smaller vessels. These galeasses run through the gulf of Bengala, and enter into the mouth of Ganges, the sea flowing up higher than Dacca. Cha-est-Kan, uncle to King Aureng-zeb, the present Mogul, and the best head-piece that ever was in all his territories, found out a way to corrupt several of the King of Aracan's Captains, so that of a sudden, forty galeasses, commanded by Portugals, came and

joined themselves with him. To engage more firmly all this new multitude to his service, he gave a larger pay to all the Portugal-officers, and to the soldiers proportionably, but those of the country had no more than their ordinary pay doubled. It is an incredible thing to see how swiftly these galleasses cut their way in the water. Some are so long that they carry fifty oar of a side ; but they have but two men to an oar : there are some very curiously painted, and upon which there is no cost of gold and azure spared. The Hollanders have some of their own to transport their goods ; and sometimes they are forced to hire others, whereby many people get a good livelihood.

The next day after my arrival at Dacca, which was the 14th of January, I went to wait upon the *Nahab* ; and presented him with a garment of cloth of gold, laced with a gold-needle-work lace of point of Spain ; with a scarf of gold and silver, of the same point ; and a very fair emerald-jewel. Toward evening, being returned to the Hollander's house, where I lodged, the *Nahab* sent me granates, China-oranges, two Persian-melons, and three sorts of pears.

The fifteenth, I showed him my goods, and presented the Prince with a watch, in a gold-enamelled-case ; with a pair of little pistols inlaid with silver, and a very fair perspective-glass. What I gave to the father and the son, a young lord, about ten years old, stood me in above five thousand livres.

The sixteenth, I treated with him about the prices of my goods : and at length I went to his steward to take my letter of exchange to be paid at

Casen-bazar. Not but that he would have paid me my money at Dacca ; but the Hollanders, who understood things better than I did, told me it was very dangerous to carry money to Casen-bazar, whither there was no going, but over the Ganges by water, the way by land being full of bogs and fens. And to go by water is no less dangerous, by reason that the boats which they use, are very apt to tip over upon the least storm : and when the mariners perceive that you carry money along with you, it is an easy thing for them to upset the boat, and afterwards to come and take up the money that lies but at the bottom of the river.

The twentieth, I took leave of the *Nahab*, who desired me to come and see him again, and caused a pass to be delivered me, wherein he gave me the title of one of the gentlemen of his house, which he had done before, when he was Governor of Amadabat when I went to him, to the army, in the province of Decan, into which the Raja Seva-gi was entered, as I shall relate in another place. By virtue of these passes I could travel over all the countries of the Great Mogul, as being one of his household.

The one and twentieth, the Hollanders made a great feast for my sake ; to which they invited the English, and some Portugueses, together with the Austin Friars of the same nation.

The two and twentieth, I made a visit to the English, whose President then was Mr. Prat.

From the twenty-third to the twenty-ninth, I brought up goods, to the value of 11,000 ropies ; and after I had embarked them, I took my leave.

The twenty-ninth, in the evening, I departed

from Dacca, the Hollanders bearing me company for two leagues, with their little barks armed : nor did we spare the Spanish-wine all that time. Having been upon the river from the twenty-ninth of January to the eleventh of February, I left my goods and servants at the bark at Acerat ; where I took a boat that carried me to a great village called Mirdapour.

The next day I hired an horse for my self, but not finding another for my luggage, I was forced to hire two women, who carried it for me. That evening I arrived at Casen-basar, where I was welcomed by Menheir Arnold Van Wachutendonk, Director of all the Holland-factories in Bengala, who invited me to lie at his house.

The fourteenth, Menheir Wachttendonk returned to Ouguely, where is the general factory. The same day one of my servants brought me word that my people and goods, which I had left behind in the bark, had been in very great danger, by reason of the high winds that had blown for two days together.

The fifteenth, the Hollanders lent me a *Palleki*, to go to Madesou-basarki. This was great town three leagues from Casen-basar, where lay Cha-est-Kan's Receiver-General, to whom I presented my bill of exchange. He told me it was very good, and that he would willingly have paid me, had he not received order the night before, not to pay me, in case he had not paid me already. He did not tell me the reason that moved Cha-est-Kan to act in that manner ; so that I went home to my lodging infinitely surprized at his proceeding.

The sixteenth, I wrote to the *Nahab*, to know the reason why he had forbid his Receiver-General to pay me.

The seventeenth in the evening, I took water for Ougueli, in a bark of fourteen oars, which the Hollanders lent me; and that night and the next I lay upon the river.

The nineteenth toward evening, I passed by a large town called Nandi, farther than which the sea does not flow. Here the wind blew so fiercely and the water grew so rough, that we were forced to stay three or four hours, and lye by the shore.

The twentieth, I arrived at Ougueli, where I stayed till the second of March. During which time the Hollanders bid me very welcome, and made it their business to show me all the divertisements which the country was capable to afford. We went several times in pleasure-boats upon the river, and we had a banquet of all the delicacies that the gardens of Europe could have afforded us. Salads of all sorts, colewarts, asparagus, pease, but our chieftest dish was Japon beans; the Hollanders being very curious to have all sorts of pulse and herbs in their gardens, though they could never get artichokes to grow in that country.

The second of March I left Ougueli, and the fifth arrived at Casen-basar.

The next day I went to Madesou-barsaki, to know whether the *Nahab* had sent any other orders to his Receiver. For I told you a little before, that I wrote upon the place to Cha-est-Kan, to complain of his proceedings, and to know the reason why my bill of exchange was not paid.

The Director of the Holland factories wrote a letter also in my behalf, which I enclosed, wherein he represented to the *Nahab*, that I was too well known to him, as having been formerly with him at Acadabat, in the army in Decan, and other places do deserve such hard usage. That he ought to consider, that I being the only person that brought the chiefest rarities of Europe to the Indies, it was not the way to make me eager of returning any more, as he himself had invited me to do, to send me away in a discontent. Besides, that the credit of my report would discourage others from coming to the Indies, fearing the same usage as I had received. Neither mine nor the Directors letter produced that effect which we expected. Nor was I much better satisfied with the new order which the *Nahab* sent to his Receiver; which was to pay me, abating twenty thousand roupies of the sum which we had agreed upon; and if I would not take the remainder, that I might come and fetch my goods again.

This ill dealing of the *Nahab*, proceeded from a scurvy trick that was played me by three canary birds at the Great Mogul's court. The story whereof was thus in short.

Aureng-zeb, that now reigns, at the instigation of two Persians and a Banian, has brought up a custom very much to the disadvantage of merchants, that come out of Europe, and other parts, to sell jewels at court. For whether they come into India either by land or sea, the Governor of the place where they first arrive, has order to send them to the King, together with their goods,

whether they will or no. As the Governor of Surat dealt by me, in the year 1665, sending me to Dehli, or Jehanabad, where the King was. There were then attending upon his Majesty, two Persians, and a Banian, who are entrusted to view and examine all the jewels which are to be sold to the King. One of those Persians is called *Ahab* Akel-Kan, that is, the Prince of the Spirit; who keep all the King's jewels. The name of the other is Mirza-Mouson, whose business is to rate every stone. The Banian, whose name is Nalikan, is to see whether the stones be false or no, or whether they have any defect. These three men have obtained a licence from the King, to view, before ever he does, whatever foreign merchants shall bring to court, and to present their goods to him themselves. And though they are under an oath not to take any thing from the merchants, yet they extort whatever they can get from them, though it be their ruin. When they see any thing that is lovely, and likely to bring great profit, they would persuade you to sell it to them for less by half than the King is worth; and if you refuse to let them have it, when they are in the King's persence they will set a price upon it at half the value; knowing that Aureng-zeb is not very covetous of jewels, loving his money far better. Upon the Kings festival-day, of which I shall speak in another place, all the Princes and nobility of the court present him with most magnificent gifts. And when they cannot meet with jewels, they send him roupies of gold, which the King likes far better than stones; though jewels are the more

honourable present. Therefore when this festival draws nigh, he issues out of his Treasury, a great quantity of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, which he who is entrusted to prize the stones, delivers, to several merchants to sell to the nobility, who are bound to present the King; by which means the King gets the money and his jewels again.

There is also another thing very disadvantageous to a merchant jeweller, which is, that when the King has seen the stones, no Prince nor nobleman that knows of it will ever buy them. Besides, while these three persons, who are entrusted to view the jewels, are considering and examining them at their lodgings, several Banians resort thither, who are expert, some in diamonds, some in rubies, some in emeralds, and others in pearls who write down the weight, goodness, cleanness, and colour of every piece. So that when a merchant goes afterwards to any Prince or Governor of any province, these people send them a note of what he has, and the price, which they set down at half the value. For in trade these Banians are a thousand times worse than the Jews; more expert in all sorts of cunning tricks, and more maliciously mischievous in their revenge. Now you shall hear what a trick these unworthy people served me.

When I arrived at Gehanabad, one of them came to my lodging, and told me, he had order from the King to see what I had brought, before I exposed my goods in the Kings presence. They would have rather that the King had not been at Gehanabad, for they would have then endeavoured to have bought them themselves, to gain thereby, by selling

them again to the King, or the nobility upon occasion ; which they could never persuade me to. The next day they came to see me all three, one after another ; and they would needs have of me, amongst other things, a jewel of nine great pearls, in the fashion of a pear, the biggest whereof weighed thirty carats, and the least sixteen ; together with another single pearl like a pear, of fifty-five carats. As for the jewel, the King took it ; but for the single pearl, they finding that whatever they could say, I would not be wrought upon to sell them any bargains, so ordered it, that before I had shewed my jewels to the King, Giafer-Kan the Kings uncle saw, and kept it, telling me he would give me as good a price as the King ; and desired me not to speak of it, for indeed he had a design to make a present to the King.

When the King had made choice of such of my jewels as he pleased, Giafer-Kan bought of me several pieces, and at the same time agreed with me for the great pearl. Some days after he paid me, according as we had agreed, except for the pearl, upon which he would have abated me ten thousand roupies. For the two Persians and the Banians had maliciously informed him, that at my first arrival, they could have bought pearl for eight or ten thousand roupies less than I had valued it to him ; which was absolutely false. Thereupon Giafer-Kan telling me, that if I would not take his money, I might have my jewel again ; I took him at his word assuring him, he should never see it again as long as he lived. And I was as good as my word. And indeed that which made me the more resolute was, that I was resolved to carry something which was

considerable to Cha-est-Kan ; for could I have had my liberty upon my arrival at Surat to have gone to him, I would never have seen the King at Gehanabad ; about which I had a very great quarrel with the Governor of Surat. For when I came to visit him, he told me presently, that the case was altered from what it had been since my last being there, for that the King was resolved to have the first view of all curiosities imported into his kingdom. I was above four months contending in vain with the Governor ; but nothing would serve ; I must go to the King, and for fear I should take another road, he sent fifteen horsemen along with me as far as Shalaoor.

When I went for Bengala, these Overseers of the jewels, out of mere spite, and, it may be, set on by Giafer-Kan, to be revenged of me for denying to let him have my jewel, wrote to Cha-est-Kan, that I intended to shew him certain jewels, among the rest a very fair pearl, which I had sold to Giafer-Kan ; but that he had given it me again, because he understood that I would have made him pay for it, ten thousand roupies more than it was worth. They wrote also the particular proportion of all the other stones which I carried. And upon this false and malicious advice it was, that Cha-est-Kan, who received not this information till he had delivered me my bill of exchange, would abate me for my whole parcel, twenty thousand roupies, which he reduced at length to ten thousand ; and well I had it too.

Since I told you before, what a present I gave to Cha-est-Kan ; I think it not amiss to tell you, what I gave the King, to *Nahab* Giafer-Kan, to

the ennuch of the Grand Begum, Aureng-zeb's sister, the great treasurer, and the porters of the Treasury. For you must take notice, that whoever he be, that craves audience of the King, they ask him in the first place, where the present is which he intends for the King; and examine whether it be fitting to present to his Majesty. For no man must come into his presence empty handed, though it be an honour dearly purchased. Coming then to Gehanabad, I went to make my obeisance to the King; and this is the present which I made him.

In the first place, a buckler of brass highly embossed, and very richly gilt, the cost of the gilding alone amounting to two hundred ducats of gold, or eighteen hundred livres; the value of the whole piece coming to four thousand three hundred seventy-eight livres. In the middle thereof was the story of Curtius, who threw himself and his horse into the Barathrum, when the earth gaped, near Rome. Round the outermost circle of the buckler, was represented the siege of Rochel. It was wrought by one of the best workmen in France, by the order of the Cardinal Richlieu. All the great Lords that were about Aureng-zeb at that time, were charmed at the beauty of the workmanship, and told him, he could not do better, than to put it upon the great elephant, which carried the standard before his Majesty when he marched into the field.

I presented him also with a battle-axe of crystal of the rock, the sides whereof were set with rubies and emeralds, encased in gold in the body of the crystal, which cost three thousand one hundred and nineteen livres.

Moreover, I presented him with a saddle after the Turkey fashion, embroidered with little rubies, pearls, and diamonds, which cost two thousand eight hundred and ninety-two livres.

I presented him also with another saddle and foot-cloth, embroidered with gold and silver, to the value of one thousand seven hundred and thirty livres. The whole present amounting to twelve thousand one hundred and nineteen livres.

The present which I made to Giafar-Kan, the Great Mogul's uncle, was a table, with other nineteen pieces to make a cabinet, all natural stones, of divers colours, representing the shapes of several birds and flowers. The work was made at Florence, and cost two thousand one hundred and fifty livres.

A perfect ruby ring, which cost one hundred livres.

To the great treasurer, I presented a watch in a gold case, set with small emeralds, at seven hundred and twenty livres.

To the porters of the King's Treasury, and those that deliver out the money out of the Treasury, two hundred roupies, at three hundred livres.

To the eunuch of the Great Begum, sister to Aureng-zeb, a watch in a painted case, which cost two hundred and sixty livres.

All these presents which I made, as well to the Great Mogul, as to Cha-est-Kan, Giafar-Kan, his Majesty's uncles; as also the great treasurer, to the stewards of the houses of the Kan's, and those that brought me twice the *Caluat*, or habit of honour from the King, and as many times

from the Begum his sister, and once from Giafar-Kan; all these presents, I say, came to twenty-three thousand one hundred fourscore and seven livres. So true it is, that they who have any business to do at the court of the great Princes, as well in Turkey as in Persia and in the Indies, must not pretend to do any thing in reference to their affairs, till they have their presents, and those very considerable, ready. Besides, that his purse must be continually open to divers officers of meaner reputation, who may be able to serve him. I did not mention in my first volume the present which I made to him that brought me the *Calaat* from the King of Persia, to whom I gave two hundred crowns.

CHAPTER IX.

The road from Surat to Golconda

I have made several journeys to Golconda, and have taken several roads; sometimes by sea embarking from Ormus for Malispata; sometimes setting out from Agra, but most often from Surat, which is the chiefest landing-place of Indostan. But in this chapter I will only speak of the common road from Surat to Golconda; wherein I comprehend that of Agra; which road comes in which I made in 1645, and 1652, for fear of tiring the reader.

I departed from Surat in the year 1645, upon

the nineteenth of January, and came to lye at
Cambari, costes 3

From Cambari to Barnoli, costes 9

From Barnoli to Beara, costes 12

From Beara to Navopour, costes 16

This is the place where grows the best rice in the world, that smells like musk.

From Navapour to Rinkula, costes 18

From Rinkula to Pipelnar, costes 8

From Pipelnar to Nimpour costes 17

From Nimpour to Patane, costes 14

From Patane to Secoura, costes 14

From Secoura to Baquela, costes 10

From Baquela, to Discon, costes 10

From Discon to Dultabat, costes 10

Dultabat is one of the best fortresses in the kingdoms of the Great Mogul, upon a mountain every way steep; the only way to it being so narrow, that but one horse, or one camel can go at a time. This city is at the foot of the mountain, very well walled. And this place of such importance, which the Moguls lost, when the Kings of Golconda and Visapour revolted from them, was retaken in the reign of Jehanguire, by a subtle stratagem. Sultan Courom, who was afterwards called Cha-jehan, commanded in Decan the army of the King his father; and Ast-Kan, father-in-law to Cha-est-Kan, who was one of the generals, gave the Prince some sort of language which so highly offended him, that immediately sending for one of his papouches, or shoes, he caused him to have six blows given him upon the bonnet; which among the Indians is the highest indignity can be put upon a man, after which

he is no more to appear in the Prince's presence. This was done by consent between the Prince and the General, to deceive the world, more especially any spies which the King of Visapour might have in the Prince's army. The report of Ast-Kan's disgrace was immediately spread abroad: and he himself flying for sanctuary to the King of Visapour, who had not cunning enough to discern the imposture, was welcomed by the same King, that he might retire with ten or twelve of his women, and as many of his servants, into the fortress of Dultabat, which was granted. He entered the town with eight or ten camels, the two *Cajavas* or litters on each side of the camel being close shut, to keep the women from being seen. But instead of woman, he had put into every *Cajava* two soldiers, all bold and resolved men, as were also every one of the supposed eunuchs that led the camels: so that he had no great difficulty to cut the garrison in pieces, not being upon their guard; and to make himself master of the place, which has been ever since under the power of the Great Mogul. There are in the place a great number of excellent pieces of cannon, and the cannoneers are generally English or Hollanders. True it is, that there is one little mountain higher than the fortress; but there is hardly any way to it, but through the same fortress. There was a Dutch engineer, who after he had served the King fifteen or sixteen years, desired leave to be gone, and the Holland-company it self, that had recommended him to the service, did all they could to obtain it; but they could never procure it; because he was an excellent cannoneer, and very

skilful in making fire-works. The Raja Jesseing, who is the most potent of all the idolatrous Princes of India, and who was most powerfully instrumental to put the crown upon Aureng-zeb's head, was sent as Generalissimo of the army of the King, against the Raja Seva-gi; and passing by the fortress of Dultabat, this Dutch-cannoneer went to wait upon him, all the cannoneers of the army being *Franguis*, as well as he. The Hollander laying hold of this opportunity, told the Raja, that if he would procure him a licence to depart, he would shew him a way to get up cannon, and to mount them upon that mountain which commanded the fortress: for they had already walled it about, and put soldiers upon it to keep it secure. The Raja pleased with his proposal, assured him that he would procure him the King's licence, if he performed what he had proposed. Thereupon the Hollander undertaking and accomplishing his design, the Raja was as good as his word, and obtained of the King to dismiss the Dutch-cannoneer: who came to Surat when I was there, about the beginning of the year 1667; whence he embarked for Holland.

From Dultabat to Aureng-abat, costes 4

Aureng-abat was formerly but a village, till Aureng-zeb made it a city, though it be not walled. It grew to be thus enlarged, as well by reason of a lake two leagues about, upon which the village is built, as for the memory's sake of his first wife, who is dead, by whom he had his children. She is interred toward the end of the lake, upon the west-side, where the King has built a Mosque, with a stately monument, and a fair inn. The

Mosque and the monument were reared at a great expence, being covered with white marble, which is brought from Lahor by waggon; being a journey of four months. Going one time from Surat to Golconda, I met five days journey from Aureng-abat, more than three hundred waggons laden with his marble, the least whereof was drawn by twelve oxen.

From Aureng-abat to Pipoli, costes 8

From Pipoli to Aubar, costes 12

From Aubar to Guisemner, costes 10

From Guisemner to Asti, costes 12

From Asti to Sarver, costes 16

From Sarver to Lesona, costes 16

From Lesona to Nadour, costes 12

At Nadour you must cross a river which runs into Ganges; and pay for every waggon four roupies; besides that, you must have a pass from the Governor.

From Nadour to Patonta, costes 9

From Patonta to Kakeri, costes 10

From Kakeri to Satapour, costes 10

From Satapour to Sitanaga, costes 12

From Sitanaga to Satanagar, costes 10

At Satanagar you begin to enter upon the territories of the King of Golconda.

From Satanagar to Melvari, costes 16

From Melvari to Girballi, costes 12

From Girballi to Golconda, costes 14

So that from Surat to Golconda, there are,
costes 324

All this I travelled in twenty-seven days. I made five journeys more in my travels in the year 1653. And I also took another road from Piplenar,

where I arrived the eleventh of March, setting out from Surat, the sixth.

The twelfth, to Birgam.

The thirteenth, to Omberat.

The fourteenth, to Enneque-Tenque, a strong fortress, that bears the name of two Indian Princesses. It stands upon a mountain steep every way ; there being but one ascent to it upon the east-side. Within the enclosed compass of the walls there is a large pond, and ground enough to sow for the maintenance of five or six-hundred men. But the King keeps no garrison therein, so that it falls to ruin.

The fifteenth, to Geroul.

The sixteenth, to Lazour, where you are to cross a river ; upon which, about a cannons-shot from the fording-place, are to be seen several large pagods of the country, whither great number of pilgrims repair every day.

The seventeenth, to Aureng-abat.

The eighteenth, to Pepelgan, or Piply

The nineteenth, to Ember.

The twentieth, to Deogan.

The one and twentieth, to Patris.

The two and twentieth, to Bargan

The three and twentieth, to Palam

The four and twentieth, to Candear, a large fortress but upon one side commanded by an high mountain.

The five and twentieth, to Gargan.

The six and twentieth, to Nagooni.

The seven and twentieth, to Indove

The eight and twentieth, to Indelvai.

The nine and twentieth, to Regivali. Between

these two last places there is a little river which separates the territories of the Great Mogul, from the dominions of the King of Golconda.

The thirtieth, to Masapkipet.

The one and thirtieth, to Mirel-mola-kipet.

To go from Agra to Golconda, you must go to Brampour, according to the road already described from Brampour to Dultabat, which is five or six days journeys off; and from Dultabat to those other places before set down.

You may also take another road to go from Surat to Golconda; that is to say, through Goa and Visapour; as I shall inform you in the particular relation of my journey to Goa. I come now to what is most worthy of observation in the kingdom of Golconda: and to relate what happened in the last wars the King maintained against his neighbours, during the time that I have known the Indies.

CHAPTER X.

Of the kingdom of Golconda, and the wars which it has maintained for some few years last past.

The whole kingdom of Golconda, take it in general, is a good country, abounding in corn, rice, cattle, sheep, poultry, and other necessities for human life. In regard there are great store of lakes in it, there is also great store of fish. Above all the rest, there is a sort of Smelt, that has but one bone in the middle, which

is most delicious food. Nature has contributed more than art, toward the making these lakes, whereof the country is full ; which are generally in places somewhat raised, so that you need do no more than make a little dam upon the plain-side to keep in the water. These dams or banks are sometimes half a league long : and after the rainy seasons are over, they open the sluices from time to time to let out the water into the adjacent fields, where it is received by divers little channels to water particular grounds.

Bagnagar is the name of the metropolis of this kingdom ; but vulgarly it is called Golconda from the name of fortress, not above two leagues distant from it, where the King keeps his court. This fortress is about two leagues in circuit, and by consequence requires a numerous guard. It is as it were a town where the King keeps his treasure : having left Bagnagar, ever since it was sacked by the army, which Aureng-zeb brought against it.

Bagnagar is then the city, which they vulgarly call Golconda ; and it was founded by the great grandfather of the present King ; upon the importunity of one of his wives, whom he passionately loved, whose name was Nagar. Before that it was only a place of pleasure, where the King had very fair gardens, till at length his wife continually representing to him the delicacies of the situation for the building a city and a palace, by reason of the river ; he laid the foundations, and ordered that it should bear the name of his wife, calling it, *Bag-Nagar*, that is to say, the garden of Nagar. This city lies in seventeen

degrees of elevation, wanting two minutes. The country round about is a flat country, only near the city are several rocks, as you see about Fontain-Bleau. A great river washes the walls of the city upon the south-west side, which, near to Maslipatan, falls into the gulf of Bengala. At Baguagar you cross this river over a bridge no less beautiful than Pont-neuf at Paris. The city is little less than Orleans, well-built, and full of windows. There are many fair large streets, but not being well-paved, they are dusty, as are all the cities of Persia and India, which is very offensive in the summer.

Before you come to the bridge, you must pass through a large suburb, called Erengabad, about a league in length; where live all the merchants, the brokers, handicraft-trades, and and in general, all the meaner sort of people; the city being inhabited only by persons of quality, officers of the King's house, ministers of justice, and officers of the army. From ten or eleven in the forenoon, till four or five in the evening, the merchants, brokers, and workmen come into the city to trade with the foreign merchants; after which time they return to their own houses. In the suburb are two or three fair Mosques, which serve for inns for the foreigners, besides several pagods in the neighbouring parts. Through the same suburb lies the way to the fortress of Golconda.

So soon as you are over the bridge, you enter into a large street, that leads you to the King's palace. On the right-hand are the houses of some lords of the court; and four or five

inns two stories-high : wherein there are fair halls and large chambers to let in the fresh air. At the end of this street there is a large piazza ; upon which stands one of the sides of the palace ; in the middle whereof there is a balcony, wherein the King comes to sit, when he pleases to give audience to the people. The great gate of the palace stands not upon this piazza, but upon another very near adjoining ; and you enter first into a large court surrounded with porticos under which lies the King's guards. Out of this court you pass into another, built after the same form, encompassed with several fair apartments, the roofs whereof are terraced. Upon which, as upon those where the elephants are kept, there are very fair gardens, wherein there grow trees of that bigness, that it is a thing of great wonder, how those arches should bear so vast a burthen.

About fifty years since, they began to build a magnificent pagod in the city, which would have been the fairest in all India, had it been finished. The stones are to be admired for their bigness : and that wherein the niche is made, which is on that side where they say their prayers, is an entire rock, of such a prodigious bulk, that it was five years before five or six-hundred men, continually employed, could hew it out of its place. They were forced also to rowl it along upon an engine with wheels, upon which they brought it to the pagod ; and several affirmed to me, that there were fourteen hundred oxen to draw it. I will tell you hereafter the reason it remains imperfect : for had it been finished, in all reason it had excelled all the boldest structures of Asia.

On the other side of the city, as you go to Maslipatan, there are two great lakes, being each about a league in compass, wherein there ride several pinks richly adorned for the King's pleasure; and upon the banks are several fair houses that belong to the principal lords of the court.

Upon three sides of the city stands a very fair Mosque, wherein are the tombs of the Kings of Golconda: and about four in the afternoon there is a dole of bread and *pilau* to all the poor that come. If you would see any thing that is rare, you must go to view these tombs upon a festival-day. For then from morning till night they are hung with rich tapestry.

As for the government and policy which is observed in this city: in the first place, when a stranger comes to the gates, they search him exactly, to see if he have any salt or tobacco about him; for those commodities bring the King his greatest revenue. Sometimes a stranger shall wait a day or two, before he shall have leave to enter. For a soldier first gives notice to the officer that commands the guard, and then he sends to the *Deroga*, to know what he shall do. Now, because it many times happens that the *Deroga* is busy, or gone to take a walk out of the city, or else for that sometimes the soldier himself pretends he cannot find the *Deroga*, only, to create himself more errands, to get the more money; a stranger is forced to endure all this delay, sometimes, as I have said before, for a day or two.

When the King sits to do justice, I observe

that he comes into the balcony that looks into piazza, and all that have business stand below, just against the place where the King sits. Between the people and the walls of the palace are fixed in the ground three rows of poles, about the length of an half-pike, to the ends whereof they tie certain ropes across one upon another. Nor is any person whatsoever permitted to pass beyond those bounds, unless he be called. This bar, which is never set up, but when the King sits in judgment, runs along the whole breadth of the piazza; and just against the balcony there is a bar to open, to let in those that are called. Then two men, that each of them hold a cord by the end, extended all the breadth of the passage, have nothing to do but to let fall the cord, for any person that is called to step over it. A Secretary of State sits below under the balcony, to receive all petitions; and when he has five or six together, he puts them in a bag and then an eunuch, who stands in the balcony near the King, lets down a string, to which the bag being tied, he draws it up, and presents it to his Majesty.

Every Monday the chiefest of the nobility mount the guard, every one in their turn, and are never relieved till at the eight days end. There are some of these lords that have five or six thousand men under their command; and they lie encamped in their tents round about the city. When they mount the guard, every one goes from his own habitation to the rendezvous; but when they are relieved, they march in good order over the bridge, thence through the long

street into the piazza, where they draw up before the balcony. In the first place, march ten or twelve elephants, more or less, according to the quality of the captain of the guard. There are some of these elephants that carry cages, which in some sort resemble the body of a little coach; there are others that have but one man to guide them, and another in the cage who carries a banner.

After the elephants, follow the camels by two and two, sometimes to the number of thirty or forty. Every camel carries a kind of packsaddle, upon which is fastened a little culverine, which a certain engineer, clad in a skin from head to foot, and sitting upon the crupper of the camel, with a lighted match in his hand, dextrously manages from one side to another before the balcony, where the King sits.

After them come the coaches, attended by the domestic servants of the Commander: next to them follow the lead-horses, and then the lord appear, to whom all this equipage belongs, attended by ten or twelve courtezans, that stay for him at the end of the bridge, and skip and dance before him to the piazza. Behind him the cavalry and infantry march in good order: which being a shew, wherein there was much of delight and state, all the while I staid at Bagnagar, which was about four months, I had the divertisement to see them out of my lodging in the great street every week as they marched by.

The soldiers wear no other clothes than only three or four ells of Calicut, with which they cover half their bodies behind and before. They wear their hair very long, and tie it up in a knot upon the top of the crown, like the women, who

have no other headgear than only a piece of linen with three corners, one that comes to the middle of the head, and the other two, which they tie under their chins. The soldiers do not wear hangers or scimitars like the Persians; but broad swords like the Switzers, as well for a thrust, as a blow, which they hang in a girdle. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and much neater; for their iron is better, and not so subject to break. Their cavalry carry bows and arrows, a buckler and a battle-axe, an head-piece and a jacket of mail, that hangs down from the head-piece over their shoulders.

There are so great a number of common women as well in the city as in the suburbs, and in the fortress, which is like another city, that there are generally above twenty thousand set down in the *Deroga's* book; without which licence, it is not lawful for any woman to profess the trade. They pay no tribute to the King; only they are obliged to come, a certain number of them, with their governess, and their music every Friday, and present themselves before the balcony. If the King be there, they dance before him. If he intend not to come, an eunuch comes into the balcony, and makes them a sign to retire. In the cool of the evening they stand at the doors of their houses, which are for the most part little huts; and when night comes, they set up a candle or a lighted lamp for a signal: then it is also that they open all the shops where they sell *Tari*; which is a certain drink made of the juice of a tree, and is as sweet as our new wines. They fetch it some five or six league off,

upon horses, that carry two earthen-bottles of each side, and trot at a great rate; of which there come every day to the city above five or six hundred. This King has a considerable revenue by the impost which he lays upon this *Tari*. And for that reason he permits so many common women, in regard it is for their sake that so much *Tari* is consumed; those that sell it, for that cause, keeping their shops by those houses.

These sort of women are so nimble and active, that when the present King went to see Maslipatan, nine of them undertook to represent the figure of an elephant; four making the four feet, four the body, and one the trunk; upon which the King, sitting in a kind of throne, made his entry in to the city.

All the men and women of Golconda are well proportioned, and of comely, statures; and fair enough in their countenances; only the country, people are a little more swart.

The present King of Golconda bears the name of Abdoul-Coutu-Sha; and I will tell the reader in a few words, from whence he drew his Original. In the reign of Akbar, King of India, the father of Jehan-guir, the territories of the Great Moguls did not extend farther southward than Narbider; so that the river which runs by it, and which coming from the south, empties it self into Ganges, separated their dominions from the territories of the Raja of Narsirgue, that stretched as far as cape Comorin, the other Raja's being only his subjects and depending upon him. This Raja and his successors have been always at wars with them that succeeded to Tamerlane

or Temur-leng in India; and their power was so great, that the last Raja, who was at war with Akbar, brought into the field four armies under as many Generals. The most considerable of his armies lay in those provinces, which at this day are called the kingdom of the Golconda; the second was quartered in the provinces of Visapour, the third in the province of Dultabat, and the fourth in the territories of Brampour. The Raja of Narsingue dying without children, the four Generals divided among themselves the countries which they possessed with their army, and took upon them the title of Kings, the one of Golconda, the other of Visapour, the other of Brampour, and the fourth of Dultabat. Though the Raja were an idolater, nevertheless his four Generals were Mahumetans; and he of Golconda was of the sect of Haly, descended from an ancient family of the Turcomans, which inhabit the country of Hamadan in Persia. This General, as I have said, was more considerable than any of the rest; and some few days after the death of the Raja, they won a famous victory from the Mogul; so that he could not hinder them from assuming their several sovereignties. But after that, Jehanguir, the son of Akbar, conquered again the kingdom of Brampour, Cha-jehan the son of Jehanguir recovered the kingdom of Dultabat, and Aureng-zeb the son of Cha-jehan recovered some part of the kingdom of Visapour. As for the King of Golconda, neither Cha-jehan, nor Aureng-zeb disturbed him, but let him rest in peace, upon condition that he should pay to the Mogul an annual tribute of 200,000 pagods. At

present the greatest Raja on this side Ganges is the Raja of Velou, whose territories extend to cape Comorin, and who succeeded to some part of the territories of the Raja of Naisingue: but in regard there is no trade in his country, and by consequence no concourse of strangers, there is little notice taken of him. The present King of Golconda has no sons, but three daughters, who are all married.

The eldest espoused one of the kinsmen of the Grand-Chek of Mecca. Nor must we forget some passages that fell out before this marriage. The Chek coming to Golconda in the habit of a *Faquin*, for some months lodged without the gate of the palace, disdaining to give any answer to several courtiers, that demanded what his business was. At length the thing being made known to the King, he sent his chief physician, who spoke good Arabic, to know of the Chek what he had to request, and the reason of his coming. The physician, and some other lords of the court that discoursed him also, finding him to be a person of great wit and learning, brought him to the King, who was very well satisfied with his aspect and his presence. But at length the Chek declaring to him, that he came to espouse the Princess; that proposal very much surprised the Prince, and was looked upon by the greatest part of the court, as made by a person not well in his wits. At first the King only laughed at him. But when he found him obstinately persevering in his demand, in-so-much that he threatened the country with some strange calamity, if the Princess were not given to him in marriage,

he was committed to prison, where he lay a long time. At length the King thinking it more to the purpose to send him back into his own country, caused him to be shipped away at Maslipatan, in a vessel that carried goods and pilgrims to Mecca, whence they travel by land to Mecca. About two years after the same Chek returned again to Golconda, and ordered his affairs so well, that he espoused the Princess, and won an high reputation in the kingdom, which he governs at this day, and is very potent. He it was that kept the King from surrendering the fortress of Golconda, whither he was retired, when Aurengzeb and his son took Bagnagar, as I shall tell you by and by, threatening to kill him, if he would not resolve to hold it out, and not deliver the keys to the enemy. This bold action was the reason which made the King love him ever afterwards; and that he takes his counsel in all weighty affairs, not as he is the King's son-in-law, but as he is a great Minister of state, and the chiefest person, next the King, in all the court. He it was that has put a stop to the finishing the great pagod in Bagnagar, having threatened the whole kingdom with some great calamity, if they went forward with the work. This Prince is a passionate lover of all those that profess the Mathematics, and understands them as well for which reason, though he be a Mahumetan, he is a great favourer of all the Christians, who are versed in that science, as he has particularly testified to Father Ephraim, a Capuchin, passing through Golconda for Pegu, whither he was sent by his superiors. He did all he could

to oblige him to stay in the country, and offered to build him a house and a Church at his own expences; telling him, he should neither want employment, nor hearers, in regard there were several Portuguese Christians, and several Armenians that came thither to trade. But Father Ephraim having a particular order to go to Pegu, could not accept of his offer; yet when he went to take his leave of the Chek, he presented him with a *Calaat*, the most noble that was in his wardrobe; being the whole habit; the cap, the *Cabay* or large vest, the *Alcalou* or short cassock, two pair of drawers, two shirts, and two scarfs, which they wear about their necks, and over their heads to keep of the heat of the sun. The Friar was surprised at the present, and gave the Check to understand, that it was not proper for him to wear it: however the Check would force him to take it, telling him he might accommodate some of his friends with it. Two months after Father Ephraim bestowed the same present upon me, being at Surat; for which I returned him thanks.

The Check seeing he could not detain the Father, and unwilling he should go afoot from Golconda to Maslipatan, obliged him to take an ox, with two men to lead it; and because he could not persuade him to take also thirty pagods, which he presented the Father withal, he commanded the two men, when they came to Maslipatan, to leave the ox and the thirty pagods with him, which they did very punctually; for otherwise at their return to Golconda, they had forfeited their lives. I will finish the history of Father Ephraim,

when I come to the description of Goa, which is the principal place that the Portugals have in the Indies.

The second daughter of the King of Golconda was married to Sultan Mahumad, the eldest son of Aureng-zeb; the occasion whereof was this: Mirgimola, Generalissimo of the King of Golconda's army, and who had been very serviceable to his master, to settle the crown upon his head, according to the custom, left with the King as a mark of his fidelity, both his wife and children in hostage; for he was sent to reduce certain Rajas in Bengala, that were in rebellion. He had several daughters, but only one son, who had a great train, and made a great noise at court. The reputation and riches which Mirgimola had gained, raised him up several enemies, who endeavoured in this absence to ruine him, and to put him out of the Kings favour. They pretended that the great power of Mirgimola was very much to be suspected; that all his designs tended to dethrone him, and to settle the kingdom of Golconda upon his own son; that it behoved him not to stay till the remedy were past cure, but to rid himself of an enemy, so much the more to be feared, the closer he kept his intentions; and that the shortest and best way was to poison him. The King being easily persuaded, gave them leave and authority to act as they pleased for his security; but having missed of their design for three or four times together, Mirgimola's son began to smell the plot; and immediately gave advice thereof to his father. It is not known what instructions he received from his father; but so soon as he had his answer, he went to the King,

and spoke boldly to him, taxing him with the services which his father had done him, and that without his assistance he had never come to the crown. The young lord, naturally of fiery disposition, kept on this discourse, so displeasing to the King, till at length his Majesty flung away; and the lords that were present, fell upon the young man, and basely misused him. At the same time also he was arrested and committed to prison, together with his mother and sisters. Which action, as it made a great noise at court, coming to Mirgimola's ears, so incensed him, that having an army under his command, and being beloved by the soldiers, he resolved to make use of the advantages he had, to revenge himself for the injury done him. He was then not far from Bengala, being sent, as I said before, to reduce certain Rajas to obedience, whose territories lie upon the Ganges; and Sultan-Sujah, Cha-jehan's second son being then Governor of Bengala, the General thought it his best way to address himself to him; as being the next Prince, with whom he might join his forces against the King of Golconda, whom he looked upon now no more as his master, but as one of his most inveterate enemies. Thereupon he wrote to the Prince to this effect: that if he would join with him, he would give him an opportunity to possess himself of the whole kingdom of Golconda; and that he should not neglect so fair an opportunity to enlarge the dominions of the Great Mogul, the succession whereof might as well concern him, as any of the rest of his brothers. But the answer which Sultan-Sujah sent him, was contrary to his expectation; who told him, that

he could not tell how to trust a person, who as he went about to betray his King, might more easily be drawn to betray a foreign Prince, whom he had inveigled only for the sake of his revenge ; and that therefore he should not rely upon him. Upon Sultan-Sujah's refusal, Mirgimola wrote to Aureng-zeb, who was then in his Government of Brampour, who being not so nice as his brother, accepted of the proposal that was made him. Thus while Mirgimola advanced with his troops toward Bagnagar, Aureng-zeb hastens toward Decan, and both armies being joined, they came to the gates of Bagnagar before the King was in a posture to receive them. He had only time to retreat into his fortress of Golconda, to which Aureng-zeb, after he had rifled the city of Bagnagar, and plundered the palace, laid a close siege. The King feeling himself thus vigorously pressed sent away to Mirgimola his wife and children very honourably. For there is a virtue and generosity in the Indians, as well as in the Europeans ; of which I will give you an illustrious example in the person of the King of Golconda. Some days after the enemy had besieged the fortress, a canoneer espying Aureng-zeb upon his elephant, riding about to view the fortifications of the castle, told the King, being then upon the bastion, that if he pleased he would fetch off Aureng-zeb with a canon-shot ; and at the same time was about to give fire ; but the King holding his hand, told him he perceived it well enough, but that it behoved Kings to be better husbands of the lives of Princes. The canoneer obeyed the King, and instead of shooting at Aureng-zeb, he took off the

head of the General of his army, who was a little before him ; which put a stop to the assault they were about to have given, the army being in a confusion upon his death. Abdul-jaber-Beg, General of the King of Golconda's army, lying not far from the camp, with a flying army of four thousand horse, understanding the disorder of the enemy by reason of the loss of their General, laid hold of so favourable an opportunity, gave them a desperate charge in that confusion, and putting them to the rout, pursued them till night, for four or five leagues. Some few days before the General's death, the King of Golconda finding that his provisions failed him in the fortress, was about to have delivered the keys ; but as I said before, Mirza-Mahomed, his son-in-law, snatched them out of his hand, and threatened to kill him, if he persevered in that resolution. Which was the reason, that the King who loved him not before, had ever after the greatest affection imaginable for him as long as he lived.

Aureng-zeb being thus constrained to raise his siege, stayed some days to rally his troops ; and having received a recruit of fresh men, returned again to the siege, with new resolutions. But Mirgimola, who had still some kindness for the King remaining in his breast, would not permit Aureng-zeb to use the utmost extremity, but by his wit and good management gained a suspension of arms.

Cha-jehan, the father of Aureng-zeb, had formerly had great kindnesses shewn him by the King of Golconda, to whom he fled after he had lost the battle, together with his eldest brother,

which he fought against Jehan-guir his father, with whom he made war. The eldest son was taken, and Jehan-guir caused his eyes to be put out; but Cha-jehan being more wary, fled, and was entertained by the King of Goïconda, with whom he entered into a particular and strict friendship; Cha-jehan making an oath to his benefactor, that he would never wage war against him upon any occasion whatever. Mirgimola therefore knowing that it would be no difficult thing to bring two Kings, that were friends, to an accommodation, wrought underhand with both, toward the conclusion of a peace. And he so brought his business about, that the King of Golconda writ a letter first to Cha-jehan, wherein he submissively requested him to be an arbitrator between Aureng-zeb and him, promising to submit wholly to him, and to sign such articles as he should propose. By the same policy of Mirgimola, Cha-jehan was advised, in answer to the King of Golconda's letter to propose a match between his second daughter and Sultan Mahomed, the son of Aureng-zeb, upon condition that after the death of the King her father, the son-in-law should inherit the kingdom of Golconda. This proposition being accepted, the peace was concluded, and the nuptials celebrated with an extraordinary magnificence. As for Mirgimola, he quitted the service of the King of Golconda, and went with Aureng-zeb to Brampour. Soon after Cha-jehan made him his Prime Minister of state, and Generalissimo of his armies; and he it was that so potently assisted Aureng-zeb to get the crown, by the defeat of Sultan-Sujah. For Mirgimola was a person of great

wit, and no less understanding in military than in state affairs. I had occasion to speak with him several times ; and I have no less admired his justice, than his dispatch to all people that had to do with him ; while he gave out several orders, and signed several dispatches at the same time, as if he had but one entire business in hand.

The other Princess of Golconda was promised to Sultan Sejed, another Chek of Mecca ; and the match went on so fairly, that the day was appointed for the celebration of the nuptials ; but Abdoul-Jeber-Beg, General of the army, with six other lords, went to the King to divert him from his intention ; and they brought it so to pass that the match was broken off, and the Princess was given in marriage to Mirza-Abdoul-Cosing, the King's cousin ; by whom she has two sons, which have wholly annulled the pretensions of Aurengzeb's son ; whose father now keeps him in prison, in the fort of Gavaleor, for having taken his uncle Sultan-Sujah's part against him. The Princess had been given before to Mirza-Abdoul-Cosing, but for his debauchery, which rendered him little regarded by the King. But since his marriage he is very much reclaimed.

Now the King of Golconda does not stand in so much fear of the Moguls ; for in imitation of them, he keeps his money in his own country ; and has already hoarded up a treasury sufficient to maintain his wars. Besides, he is altogether addicted to the sect of Haly, so that he will not wear a bonnet, like the other Mahumetans, because they say Haly wore none ; but another sort of attire for the head. Which is the reason that

the Persians, that come into India to seek their fortune, apply themselves rather to the King of Golconda than to the Great Mogul. Such is the condition of the King of Visapour also, whom the Queen, sister to the King of Golconda, takes care to educate in the sect of Haly, which invites great numbers of Persians into her service.

CHAPTER XI.

The road from Golconda to Maslipatan, al. Masalipatan.

From Maslipatan they count it an hundred costes or leagues, taking the right way. But if you go by the diamond-mine, which in the Persian language is called Coulour, in the Indian, Gani, they reckon it an hundred and twelve leagues: and this is the road which I generally took.

From Golconda to Tenara, costes 4

Tenara is a sweet place, where there are four very fair houses, to every one of which belongs a large garden. One of the four standing upon the left hand along the high-way, is much more beautiful than any of the other three. It is built of free-stone two stories high, wherein there are several fair galleries, halls, parlours, and lodging-chambers. Before the front of the house is a large four-square piazza, little inferior to the Place Royale in Paris. Upon every one of the other three fronts there is a great portal, on each side

whereof there is a fair platform raised from the carth above four or five-foot-high, and well-arched, where travellers of quality are lodged. On the top of each portal there is a strong baluster, and a little chamber for the ladies. When persons of quality care not to be in their houses, they set up tents in their gardens; and you must take notice that there is no dwelling for any person but only in the three houses; for the fourth, which is the fairest, belongs only to the Queen. When she is not there however, any body may see it, and take a walk in the garden, which is a very lovely place, and well-stored with water. The whole piazza is encompassed with several chambers for the lodging of poor travellers; who every day toward the evening have an alms bestowed upon them, of rice, or pulse, which they boil ready to their hands. But for the idolaters that eat nothing which is provided by other hands, they give them flour to make bread, and a little butter. For when their bread is baked like a broad thin cake, they dip it in the melted-butter,

From Tenara to Jatenagar, costes 12

From Jatenagar to Patengi, costes 12

From Patengi to Pengeul, costes 14

From Pengeul to Nagelpar, costes 12

From Nagelpar to Lakabaron, costes 11

From Lakabaron to Coulour or Gani, of which I shall speak in my discourse of the mines, costes 11

The greatest part of the way from Lakabaron to Coulour, especially when you come near to Coulour, is very rocky; so that I was forced in some places to take my coach off the carriages, which was presently done. If you meet with any

good earth between those rocks, there you shall find *Cassia*-trees, that bear the best *Cassia*, and the most laxative in all India. Which I found by its working with my men that eat of it by the way.

There runs a great river by the town of Coulour, which falls into the gulf of Bengala near Maslipatan.

From Coulour or Gani, to Kah-Kaly, costes 12

From Kah-Kaly to Bezouar, costes 6

Near to Bezouar you must repossess the river of Coulour.

From Bezouar to Vouchir, costes 4

From Vouchir to Nilimor, costes 4

About half the way between Vouchir and Nilimor, you must cross a great river upon a float-boat of timber, there being no other kind of boat in that place.

From Nilimor to Milmol, costes 6

From Milmol to Maslipatan costes 4

Muslipatan is a great city, the houses where of are only of wood, built at a distance from one another. The place it self, which stands by the sea, is famous for nothing but the road for ships which belongs to it, which is the best in the gulf of Bengala; and from hence they set sail for Pegu, for Siam, for Aracan, for Bengala, for Cochinchine, for Mecca, and for Ormus, also for the islands of Madagascar, Sumatra and the Manilles:

You must take notice, that from Golconda to Maslipatan, there is no travelling by waggons, by reason of the high mountains, lakes and rivers that make the road very straight and impassable. It is a very difficult thing to carry a little coach

thither; for I was forced to have my own taken off the carriages, and so to have it lifted out of the bad way. The road is every jot as bad between Golconda and cape Comorin; a waggon being hardly so much as made mention of all the way; for that there is no other way to travel, or for the carriage of goods, than with horses and oxen. But instead of coaches, they have the convenience of *Pallekies*, wherein you are carried with more speed and more ease than in any part of India.

CHAPTER XII.

The road from Surat to Goa, and from Goa to Golconda through Visapour.

You may go from Surat to Goa, partly by land, and partly by sea. But the road being very bad by land, generally travellers go by sea, and hiring an *Almadier*, which is a bark with oars, they go by the shore to Goa: though sometimes the Malavares or Indian pirates are very much to be feared all along those coasts, as I shall tell you in due place.

The way from Surat to Goa, is not reckoned by costes, but by *Gos*, one of which makes four of our common leagues.

From Surat to Daman, gos	7
From Daman to Bassain, gos	10
From Bassain to Chaoul, gos	7
From Chaoul to Daboul, gos	12

From Daboul to Rejapour, gos 10

From Rejapour to Mingrela, gos 9

From Mingrela to Goa, gos 4

In all from Surat to Goa, gos 61

The great danger which you run along the coast, is the hazard of falling into the hands of the Malavares, who are violent Mahumetans, and very cruel to the Christians. I saw a bare-foot Carmelite-Friar who had been taken by those pirates. This Friar, to get his ransom the sooner, they put to that kind of torture, that his right-arm was shorter by one half than his left and so it was with one leg. The captains do not give above six crowns to every soldier for the whole six months that they are usually out at sea: then the soldiers may return home, and if their captains will have them stay longer, they must allow them more pay. They seldom venture out above 20 or 25 leagues at sea, which is no great hazard of the vessel. But sometimes the Portugueses snap them, and then they either hang them up presently, or throw them over-board. These Malavares carry sometimes 200, sometimes 250 men, and they sail together in squadrons of ten or fifteen barks to attack a great vessel, not caring a rush for the great guns. They come board and board so suddenly, and cast such a quantity of pots of artificial fire upon the deck, that if there be no speedy remedy applied, they will presently do a world of mischief. Generally our seamen, knowing the custom of these pirates, when they come within ken, presently shut up the scuttles, and fill the deck with water, to hinder the fire-pots from doing execution.

An English Captain, whose name was Mr. Clark, coming from Bantam to Surat, not far from Cochin, met a squadron of these Malavares, consisting of 25 or 30 of these barks. Who came board and board, and vigorously attacked him. The Captain seeing he could not withstand their first fury, put fire to some barrels of powder, and blowing up the deck, blew a great number of the pirates into the sea. Nevertheless, the rest were nothing discouraged, but boarded the ship a second time. The English Captain seeing there was no help, put his men into two shallops, and staying behind in his cabin, where the pirates could not enter so suddenly, he set fire to a train which he had laid, that reached to all the rest of the powder, and at the same time leaping into the sea, was taken up by his own men. In the mean time the ship being all a-fire, the pirates leapt into the sea also. But for all this, the two shallops, wherein there were about forty English, were taken by the rest of the Malavares, that were fresh-men; and I was then at breakfast with the English President, Mr. Fremelin, when he received a letter from Captain Clark, that he was a slave to Samorin, who is the most considerable King all along the pirate coast. The Prince would not leave the English in the hands of those scoundrels, knowing that they would have been in great danger of their lives, by reason that above twelve-hundred women had lost their husbands, in the two times that the ship had been fired. However the King found a means to appease them, promising to each of them that had lost their husbands two piasters, every piaster being four shillings apiece, which came to above two thousand

four hundred crowns, besides four thousand, which were to be paid for the ransom of the Captain, and the other sea-men, immediately the President sent the money, and I saw them at their return, some in health, others in violent fevers. The Malavares are a people so superstitious, that they never touch any thing that is foul or soiled, with their right hands, but only with the left, the nails of which fingers they let grow, and use instead of combs, for they wear their hair long like the women, tying it about their heads in wreaths, and binding it with a linen cloth with three corners.

Since I have mentioned Daman, I will tell you in a few words how that city was besieged by Aureng-zeb the present Great Mogul. Some are of opinion that elephants do great matters in war; which may be sometimes true, but not always; for very often instead of doing mischief to the enemy, they turn upon those that lead them, and rout their own party as Aureng-zeb found by experience, at the siege of this city. He was twenty days before Daman, and resolved at length to storm it upon a Sunday, believing that the Christians were like the Jews and would not defend it upon that day. He that commanded the place was an old soldier, who had served in France, and had three sons with him. In the town were eight hundred gentlemen, and other stout soldiers, who came from all parts to signalize their valour at that siege. For though the Mogul had in his army above forty thousand men, he could not hinder relief from being put into Daman by sea, in regard that he wanted ships. The Sunday that

the Prince intended to storm, the Governor of Daman, as had been ordered at the council of war, caused mass to be said presently after midnight, and then made a sally with all his cavalry and some part of his infantry, who were to fall on upon that quarter which was guarded by two hundred elephants. Among those elephants they flung a great number of fire-works which so affrighted them in the dark of the night, that knowing not whither they went, nor being to be ruled by their governors, they turned upon the besiegers with so much fury, that in less than two or three hours half the army of Aureng-zeb was cut in pieces, and in three days the siege was raised; nor would the Prince after that, have any more to do with the Christians.

I made two voyages to Goa, the one at the beginning of the year 1641, the second at the beginning of the year 1648. The first time I stayed but five days, and returned by land to Surat. From Goa I went to Bicholly, which is upon the main land, thence to Visapour. thence to Golconda, thence to Aurang-abat, and so to Surat. I could have gone to Surat without passing through Golconda, but my business led me that way.

From Goa to Visapour, costes 85

Which takes up generally eight days journey.

From Visapour to Golconda, costes 100

Which I travelled in nine days.

From Golconda to Aureng-abat, the stages are not so well ordered, being sometimes sixteen, sometimes twenty leagues asunder.

From Aureng-abat to Surat takes up sometimes

twelve, sometimes fifteen, sometimes sixteen days journey.

Visapour is a great scrambling city, wherein there is nothing remarkable, neither as to the public edifices, nor as to trade. The King's palace is a vast one but ill built ; and the access to it is very dangerous, in regard there are abundance of crocodiles that lie in the water which encompass it. The King of Visapour has three good ports in his dominions, Rejapour, Daboult, and Crapaten. The last is the best of all, where the sea beats upon the foot of the mountain, and you have fourteen or fifteen fathom water near the land. Upon the top of the mountain there is a fort, with a spring of water in it. Crapaten is not above five days journey from Goa to the north. And Rabaque, where the King of Visapour sells his pepper, is as far distant from it to the east. The King of Visapour and the King of Golconda have been formerly tributary to the Great Mogul : but now they are absolute of themselves.

This kingdom was for some time disquieted by the revolt of Nair-seva-gi, Captain of the King of Visapour's gurads ; after which the young Sevi-gi, his son conceived so deadly a hatred against the King, that he made himself the head of certain banditi, and he was both wise and liberal, he got together so many horse and foot, as made a complete army ; the soldiers flocking to him from all parts, for the reputation of his liberality. And he was just about to have led them to action, when the King of Visapour happened to die without children, so that with little or no trouble he got possession of one

part of the coast of Malavar; taking Rejapour, Rasigar, Crapaten, Daboul, and other places. They report that upon his demolishing the fortifications of Rasigar, he found vast treasures, which helped him to pay his soldiers, who were always well paid. Some years before the death of the King, the Queen perceiving no probability, of having any children, adopted a little boy, upon whom she bestowed all her affections, and caused him to be brought up in the doctrine of Faly's sect. The King upon his death-bed caused this adopted son to be proclaimed King; but Seva-gi having a numerous army continued the war, and much disturbed the regency of the Queen. At length he made the first propositions for peace; which was concluded upon condition, that he should quietly enjoy the territories which he had subdued; that he should become tributary to the King, and pay him the half of all his revenue. The young King being thus fixed in his throne, the Queen regent went in pilgrimage to Mecca; and I was at Ispahan, when she passed through the town in her return home.

When I made my second voyage to Goa, I embarked in a Dutch vessel called the *Maestritch*, which carried me to Mingrela, where I landed the eleventh day of January, 1648.

Mingrela is a large town, extended half a league in length upon the sea, in the territories of Visapour. It is one of the best roads in all India, where the Hallanders take in fresh provisions every time they fail to block up Goa, as also when they are bound upon trade for many other parts of India. For at Mingrela there is both excellent

water, and excellent rice. This town is also very famous for cardamums, which the eastern people esteem the best of spices, not being to be had in any other country ; which makes that sort of commodity very scarce and very dear. There is also made great store of coarse Calcuts, that are spent in the country ; besides great quantities of coarse matting, that serves to pack up goods. So that both in respect of trade, as also for the furnishing their ships with fresh provisions, the Hollanders have a factory in the town. For as I said before, not only all vessels that come from Batavia, from Japon, from Bengala, Ceylon, and other places, and those that are bound for Surat, the Red Sea, Ormas, Balsara, &c., both going and coming, come to an anchor in the road of Mingrela, but also while the Hollanders are at wars with the Portugals, and lye before the bar of Goa, where they have usually eight or ten sails, they send their small barks to Mingrela for provisions. For the Hollanders lay eight months in a year before the mouth of the port of Goa so that there can nothing pass in to Goa by sea all that time. You must also take notice, that the bar of Goa is also stopt up some part of the year by the sands which the south and west-winds that precede the great rains, cast up ; so that there is not above a foot, or a foot and half water for very small boats. But when the great rains come, the water swells and carrying away the sands, opens a passage for the great vessels.

CHAPTER XIII.

Observations upon the present state of the city of Goa.

Goa lies in 15 degrees, 32 minutes of latitude, in an island six or seven leagues about, upon the river of Mandoua, ten leagues from the mouth of the river. The island abounds in corn and rice, and bears several sorts of fruit, as mangoes ananas, ananas-figs, and cocoas. But most certainly a pippin is far beyond all those fruits. All those that have seen Europe and Asia, agree with me, that the port of Goa, the port of Constantinople, and the port of Toulon, are three of the fairest ports of all our vast continent. The city is very large, and the walls are of good stone. The houses are for the most part very magnificently built, especially the Vice-roy's palace. There are in it a great number of apartments, and in one part of the rooms and chambers, which are very large hang several pictures, wherein are severally painted by themselves, the ships that come from Lisbon to Goa, with those that are bound from Goa to Lisbon, with the name of the vessel, the Captain, and the number of guns which the ship carries. If the city were not so closely environed with hills, it would doubtless be better inhabited and the air would be much more wholesome. But those mountains keep off the cool winds, which is the reason that the heats are very excessive. Beef and pork is the ordinary diet of the inhabitants of Goa. They have good

store of poultry, and some few pigeons; but though Goa be very near the sea, fish is very scarce. They have abundance of all sorts of sweet-meats, and feed upon them very much.

Before the Hollanders had brought down the power of the Portugals in India there was nothing to be seen at Goa, but magnificence and riches: but the Dutch having every where got their trade out of their hands, they have lost their springs of gold and silver, and are fallen from their former splendour. In my first voyage to Goa I met with people of fashion, that had above two-thousand crowns revenue; at my second voyage the same persons came privately to me in the evening, to beg an alms; yet abating nothing, for all that of their inherent pride and haughtiness: nay their women will come in *Pallekis* to the door, and stay while a boy, that attends them has brought you a compliment from his mistress. Then usually you send them what you please, or carry it your self, if you have a curiosity to see their faces; which rarely can be done, because they cover themselves with a veil from head to foot. Moreover, if you go your self to present them your charity, they will give you a little note, containing a recommendation of some religious person, who signifies what substantial persons they have been, and how they came to fall to decay. Sometimes, if the person be handsome, she is desired to walk in; and to take a collation, which lasts most commonly till the next day. Had not the Portugals so many fortresses to keep upon the land; or had, they not, out of their contempt of the Hollander

neglected their affairs, they could never have been reduced to so low a condition.

The Portugueses have no sooner made the cape of Good-Hope but they are all *Fidalgues* or gentlemen; and add the title of *Dom* to the single name of Pedro or Jeronimo, which they received at their baptism: from whence they are called the *Fidalgues* or gentlemen of the cape of Good-Hope. As they change their names, they also change their nature; for it may be truly said, that the Indian-Portugals are the most revengeful persons and the most jealous of their wives, of any persons in the world. And when the least suspicion creeps into their noddles, they rid themselves of them either by poison or dagger. If they have an enemy, they never pardon him; but if he be a person of that courage that they dare not grapple with him, their persons have attending upon them a sort of black slaves, that if they command them to kill any one, the slaves will do it with a blind obedience; which they do either with a dagger or a pistol, or else by knocking the party on the head with a club, which they always carry, about the length of an half-pike. If it happen that they stay too long before they can meet with an opportunity ere they can dispatch their mischief; and that they cannot conveniently meet the person to be murdered, in the field or in the city, they are no such saints, but they will kill him at the very altar, while he is at his devotions; of which I saw two fatal precedents, the one at Goa, the other at Daman. At Daman three of four of these black slaves perceiving some persons whom they were

to murder, at mass in the Church, discharged their muskets at them through the windows, never considering what other mischief they might do to any other persons, against whom they had no quarrel or design. The same thing happened at Goa, where seven men were killed close by the altar, and the priest that said mass was dangerously wounded at the same time. Nor do their courts of justice take any cognizance of these crimes, for generally the guilty persons are the chiefest of the country. As for their suits of law, there is no end of them, for they are managed by the *Canarins*, who are natives of the country, whose business it is to follow the law; the most subile and crafty sort of people in the world.

To return to the ancient power of the Portugals in India, most certain it is, that if the Hollanders had never come among them, you should not have seen a bit of iron in any Portugal merchant's house; but all gold or silver; for they needed no more than to make three or four voyages to Japon, the Philippin, or Molucca islands, or to China to enrich themselves; gaining at their return above five or six for one upon rich merchandizes. The very soldiers as well as the Captains and Governors enriched themselves by trade. There was not any person, unless it be the Governor, who was not a trader; or if he does trade, it is in another man's name, for he has revenue enough without it. Formerly it was one of the finest employments of the world to be Vice-roy of Goa: and there are but few monarchs, that have Governments at their disposal, which are equal in value to some of those which

depend upon this Vice-roy. The chief command is that of Mozambique for three years. In those three years the Governor gets above four or five hundred-thousand crowns, and sometimes more, if in all that time they receive no losses from the *Cafres*. These *Cafres* are people that bring gold for the commodities which they carry away; and if any one of them happen to die, going or coming, whatever you trusted them withal is lost without redemption. The Governor of Mozambique trades also with the Negros that inhabit all along the coast of Melinda; and they ordinarily pay for the goods they buy, either in elephant's teeth, or ambergreese. When I was last in Goa, the Governor of Mozambique, who returned to Goa after he had been three years in his command, had by him only in ambergreese, two hundred thousand crowns, not reckoning his gold, and his elephant's teeth, which amounted to a far larger sum.

The second Government was that of Malaca, by reason of the custom which there to be paid. For it is a strait through which all vessels that are bound from Goa, for Japan, China, Cohinchina, Java, Macassar, the Philippin islands, and many other places, must of necessity pass. They may sail another way by the island of Sumatra, toward the west, and so through the strait of Sonde or else leave the island of Java to the north; but when the ship return to Goa, they must shew a discharge from the custom-house of Malaca, which obliges them to go that way.

The third Government is that of Ormus, by reason of the great trade which is there, and the custom which all ships are to pay that are bound

in and out of the Persian gulf. The Governor of Ormus exacted great tolls from those that went to the island of Bakren to fish for pearls, for if they did not take a licence from him, he would sink their vessels. The Persians at present exact this custom from the English, who have a small share in that trade, as I have related in my Persian voyages. But though they are severe enough to the merchants, their customs amount to nothing near so much as what the Portugueses made of it. The Hollanders are in the same condition at Malaca, not receiving hardly sufficient to pay their garrison which they keep there.

The fourth Government is that of Muscate, the revenue whereof was very great. For all vessels that are bound from India, from the Persian gulf, from the Red Sea, and from the coast of Melinda, must come under the point of Muscate, where they generally take in fresh water. If there be any ships that would not come to an anchor there, the Governor sent for his custom, which was four in the hundred; and if they refused, the Governor had his galeasses ready to sink them.

The fifth Government was that of the island of Ceyland, to which belonged all those places which the Portugals had, as well upon the coast of Malavar, the gulf of Bengala, and other parts of India; the worst of which employments was worth ten thousand crowns per ann.

Besides these five great Governments, which were at the disposal of the Vice-roy, he had abundance of other offices in the gift, as well in Goa, as in other parts of India. The very day

that he makes his entry into Goa, the Captain of Guards gets above four thousand crowns. The three offices of Engineer Major, Visitor of the forts, and chief Master of the Ordinance, yielded every year twenty thousand pardos; every pardo being worth twenty-seven sous of our money. The Portugueses were then all very rich; the nobility by reason of their governmets and commands, the merchants by their trade, till the English and Hollanders cut them short. When they had Ormus, they would not let any merchant pass by sea into India; so that they were forced to go by land through Candahar. Then, when the Turkey, Persian, Arabian, Muscovits, Polonian, and other merchants arrived at Bander-Abassy, they joined together, and deputed four of the most experienced persons among them, to view all the sorts of commodities, and to understand their quality and price. After they have made their report, they agree upon their price, and fetch away their goods, which are distributed to every one proportionably according to the number of merchants. It is also the custom of all Asia, that there is nothing sold, but a broker has a hand in the bargain. They make good the money to those that have sold, and receive it from them that buy; and there are some sorts of commodities upon which there is due to them for brokage, sometimes one in the hundred, sometimes one and a half, and two.

At that time the Portugueses made great profit, without any loss. For the Vice-roy took care to preserve them against the pirates. Who, as soon as the rains are over, and that it was seasonably to put

to sea, always sent a sufficient convoy to guard the merchants twenty-five or thirty leagues to sea, the Malvares not daring to stir above fifteen or twenty. The Captains of the galiots, and the soldiers drive a small trade also in their voyages, and in regard they pay no custom, they gain enough to maintain themselves handsomely all the time they lie in garrison, which is during the rains. There was also care taken for the advancement of the soldiery ; for every soldier that came from Portugal, after nine years service, had some command either by sea or land bestowed upon him ; and if he would not accept of it, they gave him leave to trade as a merchant. So that if there happened to be any person of understanding among them, he could not fail to raise his fortune, having all the credit he could desire. For there were people enough that being glad to let out their money, would venture with him at cent. per cent. upon his return. If the vessel be lost, they that lend their money, lose either their money or their goods ; but if the ship come safe home, of one they make three or four.

The natives of the country, called Canarins, are not permitted to bear any offices among the Portugueses, but only in reference to the law, that is to say, either as advocates, or solicitors, or scriveners ; for they keep them very much under. If one of these Canarins or blacks, happen to strike a white or European, there is no pardon for him, but he must have his hand cut off. As well the Spaniards as Portugueses, make use of them as receivers, and to follow their business. And in the Manillas, or Philippin islands,

there are some of these blacks of rich, that many of them offered twenty thousand croisats to the Vice-roy, for liberty to wear hose and shoes, which they are not permitted to wear. Some of these blacks have thirty slaves attending upon them, very richly habited; but only they go barefoot. And had the Portugals permitted them to set out ships of their own, and to have chosen Captains and other officers at their own pleasure, the Portugueses would not have made such large, at least not so easy conquests in the Indies. These blacks are very courageous and good soldiers, and several of the religious orders have assured me, that they will learn more in six months in one of their colleges, than the Portugal children in a year, whatever science you put them to; which is the reason that the Portugals, keep them so low. The natural inhabitants of the country about Goa, are idolaters, and worship several sorts of idols, which they say are the resemblance of several that have done good works, to whom they ought to give praise by adorning their portraitures. There are many of these idolaters who worship apes. And therefore in the island of Salsete, there was a pagod, where the idolaters kept in a chest, like a tomb, the bones and nails of an ape, which they said had been mighty servicable to their ancestors, by bringing news and intelligence to them, when any hostile Princes prosecuted them; for which purpose they would sometimes swim through the very sea it self. The Indians come from several parts in procession, and make offerings to this pagod. But the clergy of Goa, especially the Inquisition, caused the tomb

one day to be taken away, and brought it to Goa, where it remained a good while, by reason of the difference which it made between the ecclesiasticks and the people. For the idolaters offering a great sum of money to have their reliques again, the people were willing to have restored them; saying, that the money would do well upon any occasion of war, or else to relieve the poor. But the clergy were of a contrary opinion, and maintained that such a piece of idolatry was not to be endured upon any account whatsoever. At length the Arch-bishop and the Inquisitors, by their own authority, took away the tomb, and sending it in a vessel twenty leagues out to sea, caused it to be thrown to the bottom of the ocean. They thought to have burned it, but the idolaters would have raked up the ashes again, which would have been but a new food to their superstition.

There are in Goa abundance of clergy-men; for besides the Arch-bishop and his clergy, there are Dominicans, Austin-Friars, Franciscans, bare-foot Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins, with two religious houses, whereof the Austin-Friars are directors or Governors. The religious Carmelites, that came last, are the best seated; for though they are somewhat at a distance from the heart of the city, yet they have the advantage of a fine air, and the most healthy situation in all Goa. It stands upon a rising ground, free to the refreshment of the wind; and it is very well built, with two galleries one over the other. The Austin-Friars, who were the first that came to Goa, were indifferently well seated, at the foot of a little rising ground, their Church also standing upon a

rising ground with a fair piazza before it; but when they had built their habitation, the Jesuits desired them to sell that rising ground, which was then a void place, under pretence of making a garden in it for the recreation of their scholars, but after they had purchased it, they built a most stately college upon the same ground, which quite stops and chokes up the Austin-Friar's convent, so that they have no air at all. There happened several contests about this business, but at length the Jesuits got the better. The Jesuits at Goa, are known by the name of Paulists; by reason that their great Church is dedicated to St. Paul. Nor do they wear hats or corner-caps, as in Europe, but only a certain bonnet, resembling the skull of a hat without the brims; somewhat like the bonnets which the Grand Signor's slaves wear; of which I have given you a description in my *Relation of Seraglio*. They have five houses in Goa, the college of St. Paul, the seminary, the professors house, the Noviciate, and the Good Jesus. The paintings in this house are admirable pieces of workmanship. In the year 1663 the college was burnt by an accident which happened in the night, so that it cost them near sixty thousand crowns to rebuild it.

The hospital of Goa was formerly the most famous in all India. For in regard the revenues thereof were very great, the sick persons were very carefully looked after. But since the change of the Governors, there is but very bad accommodation; and several of the Europeans that have been put in, have never come forth again, but in their coffins. However, they have lately

found out a way to save some by frequent blood-letting. They let blood sometimes as occasion requires, thirty or forty times, even as often as any ill-blood comes forth; as they did by me one time that I was at Surat. Butter and flesh is very dangerous to them that are sick, and many times cost them their lives. Formerly they made several sorts of well-tasted diet for those that recovered: now they serve the patient only with young beef-broth, and a dish of rice. Usually the poorer sort that recover their health, complain of drowth, and called for water. But they that look after them, being only blacks, or mongrels, a sort of covetous and pitiless people, will not give them a drop, unless they put money in their hands; and to colour their wickedness, they give it them by stealth, pretending what they do to be against the physician's order. As for sweet-meats and preserves, there is no want of them; but they are not a diet which contributes over-much to the restoring of decayed strength, especially in those hot countries where the body requires rather cooling and refreshing nourishment.

I have forgot one thing in reference to their more frequent blood-lettings than among us Europeans. Which is, that to bring their colour again, and to restore them to perfect health, they order the patient to drink for twelve days together three glasses of cow's urine; one in the morning, another at noon, and another at night. But in regard it is a very nauseous sort of drink, the patient swallows as little as he can, how desirous soever he may be of his health. They learnt this remedy from the idolaters of the

country; and whether the patient will take it or no, they never let him stir out of the hospital, till the twelve days are expired wherein he ought to drink it.

CHAPTER XIV.

What the author did, during his stay at Goa, the last time he went thither in the year 1648.

Two days before I departed from Mingrela for Goa, I wrote to Monsieur St. Amant, who was engineer, to send me a Man of War, for fear of the Malvares which are upon the coast, which he immediately did. I parted from Mingrela the 20th of January 1648, and arrived at Goa the 25th. And in regard it was late, I staid till the morning before I went to visit the Vice-roy, Don Philip de Mascaregnas, who had formerly been Governor of Ceylan. He made me very welcome, and during the two months that I tarried at Goa, he sent to me a gentleman five or six times, who brought me still to the powder-house, which was without the city, where he often used to be. For he took great delight in levelling guns, wherein he asked my advice, esteeming very much a pistol very curiously and richly inlaid, which I presented him at my arrival. This pistol the French-Consul at Aleppo gave me, the fellow of it being unhappily lost: for else the pair had been presented by the French-nation, to

the Basha, who might then have boasted himself the master of the fairest and best-made pair of pistols in all Asia. The Vice-roy admit no person whatever, no not his children to sit at his table. But there is a little partition in the dinning-room, where there is a cloth laid for the principal officers, as usual in the courts of the German-Princes. The next day I went to wait upon the Arch-bishop,, and the next day after I designed to have visited the Inquisitor; but I understood by one of his gentlemen that he was busy, writing into Portugal; there being two ships ready to weigh anchor, that only staid for his dispatches. After the ships were set sail, he sent the same gentleman to tell me that he expected me at the inquisition-house, about two or three in the afternoon. I failed not to go thither at the time prefixed. When I came, a page brought me into a large hall, where after I had walked a quarter of an hour, an officer came and carried me into the chamber where the Inquisitor was. After I had past through two galleries, and some chambers, I entered into a little chamber where the Inquisitor sat at the end of a great table like a billiard table, which, as well as the chairs and stools in the chamber, was covered with green cloth, such as is carried out of England. He told me I was welcome, and after a compliment or two, he asked me what religion I was of? I answered him, of the Protestant religion. He asked me then, if my father and mother were of same religion; and after I had satisfied him that they were so; he told me again I was welcome, calling out at the same time for some other persons to enter. Thereupon,

the hangings being held up, there came in ten or twelve persons out of another room hard-by. The first of the train were two Austin-Friars, followed by two dominions, two barefoot Carmelites, and some other of the clergy; whom the Inquisitor told who I was, and assured them I had brought no prohibited books; for indeed, knowing their orders, I had left my Bible at Mingrela. We discoursed about two hours of several things, but particularly of my travels; the whole company testifying their desire to hear me make some repetitions. Three days after the Inquisitor sent for me to dine with him at a fair house, about half a league from the city, which belongs to the bare-foot Carmelites. It is one of the the loveliest structures in all the India; and I will tell you in short how the Carmelites came by it. There was a gentleman in Goa, whose father and grandfather had got great estates by merchandizing; and he it was that had built this house, which might well have past for a most noble palace. He had no mind to marry, but being altogether addicted to his devotions, he very much frequented the Austin-Friars, to whom he showed himself so affectionate, that he made his will, wherein he gave them all his estate, provided they would bury him on the right-side of the high-altar where he intended a sumptuous monument." Now according to the common report, this gentleman was leper, which some jealous persons endeavoured to make the world believe, feeling he had given away all his estate to the Austin-Friars. Thereupon they told him that the ground on the right-hand of the high-altar

was a place only fit for a Vice-roy ; and that a leprous person was not to be laid there ; which was the opinion of the generality of the people, and of a good part of the Austin-Friars themselves. Thereupon some of the Fathers of the cōvent coming to speak with the gentleman, on purpose to persuade him to choose some other place in the Church, he was so offended at the proposal, that he never went more to the Austin-Friars, but always went to perform his devotions among the Carmelites, who received him with open arms, and accepted the conditions which the other had refused. Nor did he live long after he had interested himself with that Order ; so that the Carmelites having magnificently buried him, enjoyed all his estate, with this same house, where we were splendidly entertained with music all the time of dinner.

I staid at Goa from the twenty-first of January till the eleventh of March, departing thence that very day in the evening, after I had taken leave of the Vice-roy. I begged leave also of the Vice-roy for a French-gentleman, whose name was Belloy, to go along with me : which was granted me ; but through the imprudence of that gentleman, who did not tell me the reason of his coming to Goa, he had like to have been taken from me again, and it was an even-lay, that we had not been both carried to the inquisition. This gentleman had left the place of his nativity to travel over Holland, where having run himself in debt, and finding no person that would lend him any money, he resolved to go for India. Thereupon he listed himself as a private

soldier upon the accompt of the Holland-Company ; and came to Batavia at the same time that the Hollanders made war against the Potugueses in Ceylan. Being arrived, they sent him away among the recruits which were sent into that island ; and the Holland-General feeling such a reinforcement of stout men commanded by French Captain, whose name was St. Amant, a person of great courage and experience ; he resolved to besiege Negombe, a considerable fort in the island of Ceylan. They made two assaults wherein the French-men behaved themselves valiantly, especially St. Amant, and John de Rose, who were both wounded. The General of the Dutch, feeling them to be two such men of courage, made a promise that if Negombe were taken, one of them to should be Governor. The place was taken, and the General kept his word with St. Amant : but the news being carried to Batavia, a young gentleman of kin to the General, and but newly arrived out of Holland obtained to be Governor of Negombe, to the prejudice of St. Amant, and came with an order from the Council at Batavia to displace him. St. Amant incensed at such ill-usage, inveigles to his party a matter of fifteen or twenty, most part French soldiers, among whom were Monsieur Belloy, Marests, and John de Rose, and revolts to the Portugueses. The Portugals encouraged by the reinforcement of such a stout, though small number of men, stormed Negombe again, and took it at the second assault. At that time was Don Philip de Mascaregnas Governor of Ceylan, and all the places belonging to it, under the jurisdiction of the

Portugal. He lived also at the city of Colombo ; and then it was, that having received letters from Goa, that the Vice-roy was dead, and that the Council and all the nobility desired him to come and succeed in his place, he resolved to see St. Amant and his companions before his departure, to the end he might bestow upon them some proper reward. So soon as he saw them, he was resolved to take them along with him to Goa. Whether it were that he thought he might have better opportunities to advance them there ; or that he thought it convenient to have stout men about him, by reason of the Malavares who lay in wait for him with forty vessels, whereas he had but twenty-two. But they were no sooner come to make cape Comorin, when the winds rose, and such a tempest followed, that the vessels were dispersed, and many of them unfortunately cast away. They that were in Don Philip's vessel did all they could to get to the shore, but seeing they could not, and that the ship was ready to split, St. Amant and his six other companions threw themselves into the sea with cords and pieces of planks, and so bestirred themselves, that they made a shift not only to save themselves, but Don Philip also. Hereupon Don Philip coming to Goa, a'ter he had made his entrance, gave St. Amant the command of Grand Master of the Artillery, and Superintendent-General over all the forts which the Portuguese had in India. He married him also to a young virgin, with whom he had twenty-thousand crowns, whose father was an English-man, who had quitted the Company, and married a natural daughter of one of the Vice-roy's of Goa. As

for John de Rose, he desired leave of the Vice-roy to return to Colombo, where, by his favour, he married a young widow, half native, half Portuguese, by whom he had a fair fortune. Marests the Vice-roy made Captain of his guards, the most considerable command in all his Court, being obliged to Marests for his life, who was the person that bore him upon his shoulders to save him from drowning. Du Belloy desired leave that he might go to Macao, which was granted him. For he understood that the greatest part of the Portugal-gentry, retired to the place, after they had got estates by merchandizing; that they were very courteous to strangers, and withal extremely addicted to play, which was Du Belloy's chief delight. He lived two years at Macao, very much to his content; for when he wanted money, the gentry lent it him freely. One day he had won above six-thousand crowns, but going to play again, he was so unfortunate as to lose it all, besides a good sum of money which his friends had lent him. Being thus at a loss, and finding that no-body would lend him any more money, he began to swear against a picture that hung in the room, which was the portraiture of some papistical Saint; saying in his passion that it was an usual thing with them that paid, that if they saw a Saint picture hang in their sight, it made them lose; and that if that picture had not been there he had certainly won. Immediately the Inquisitor was informed of this, (for in every city in India under the jurisdiction of the Portugueses there is one. However his power is limited; having no other authority than to seize the person of

him that says or acts any thing against their religions, to hear the witnesses, and to send the offender with the examinations to Goa in the first ship which is bound thither : where the Inquisitor-General has an absolute power either to absolve him, or to put him to death.) Thereupon Du Belloy was put aboard a small vessel of ten or twelve guns loaded with irons : with a strict charge to the Captain to keep him safe, and some threats that he should be answerable for him if he escaped. But so soon as the ship was out at sea, the Captain, who was of a noble disposition, and knew Du Belloy to be of a good family, took off his irons, and made him sit at his own table ; giving him also linen, and other convenient apparel necessary for the voyage, which was to continue forty days. They put into Goa the nineteenth of February 1649 ; and the ship was no sooner come into harbour, but St. Amant came a-board by the Governor's order, as well to receive his letters, as to hear what news in China. But his surprize was very great, to see Belloy in that condition, and that the Captain would not let him go, before he had surrendered him up into the hands of the Inquisitor. Nevertheless, in regard that St. Amant was a person of great credit, he obtained of the Captain, that Belloy should go along with him into the city. As for Belloy he immediately and for the nonce shifted himself into his old cloths, which were all to tatters and full of vermin ; and St. Amant, who knew there was no dallying with the inquisition, took that season to present him to the Inquisitor ; who seeing a gentleman in such a sad condition, had some

compassion upon him, and allowed him the whole city for his prison ; on condition he should surrender his body, upon demand, when he understood what was informed against him. In the interim St. Amant brings Du Belloy to my lodging just as I was going to visit the Arch-bishop of Mira, whom I formerly knew at Constantinople, when he was Prior of the Franciscans at Galata. I desired them to stay a while and to dine with me, which they did ; after which I proffered my house and table to Du Belloy, who lived with me ; and for whom I also bought two new suits of apparel, and linen convenient. However, all the while that I staid at Goa, which was ten or twelve days, I could not persuade the Sieur Du Belloy to put on those new cloths, not knowing the reason, though he promised me every day. But being upon my departure, I told him I was going to take leave of the Vice-roy ; whereupon he desired me to procure leave for him also ; which I did. We departed toward evening in the same vessel wherein I came, and about midnight the Sieur Belloy began to shift himself, and when he had done he threw his old rags into the sea, swearing against the inquisition like a mad man ; I understanding nothing all this while of the business. When I heard him swear in that manner, I told him we were not yet out of the Portuguese hands ; neither were he and I with five or six servants, able to defend our selves against forty sea-men that belonged to the ship. I asked him then, why he swore so heartily against the inquisition ? He replied that he would tell me all the circumstances of the story ; which he did, when

we came to Mingrela, which was about eight a clock in the morning. When we landed we met certain Hollanders with the Commander, who were eating oysters and drinking sack upon the shore. Immediately they asked me who that person was with me. I told them it was a gentleman who attending the French Ambassador into Portugal, had taken shipping there for India, together with four or five more whom he had left at Goa; but that neither the situation of the place, nor the humour of the Portugals pleasing him, he had desired my assistance in his return for Europe. Three or four days after, I bought him an ox to carry him to Surat; and I gave him a servant to assist him, together with a letter to Father Zenon, a Capuchin, wherein I desired him to speak to my broker to pay him ten crowns a month for his subsistence, and to desire of the English President to embark him for Europe with the first opportunity. But it fell out contrary to my intentions; for Father Zenon carried him back again along with him to Goa, where he had some business to do for Father Ephraim his companion; of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. Father Zenon without doubt believed, that Du Belloy making his appearance to the inquisition, and desiring his pardon might have easily obtained it. It is very true he did obtain it, but it was after he had been two years in the inquisition, from which he was not discharged but with a sulphured shirt, with a St. Andrews cross upon his stomach. There was with him another gentleman, called Lewis de Bar upon the Seine, who was used in the same manner; and they always put them to accompany those who were

put to death. The *Sieur Du Belloy* did very ill to return to Goa, and worse to appear afterwards again at Mingrela, where the *Hollanders*, who understanding he had formerly revolted out of their service, by the intelligence they received from their Commander at Surat, seized his person and sent him always in a ship that was going for Batavia. They pretended that they sent him to the General of the Company, to do with him as he should think fitting. But I am in part assured, that as soon as the vessel was out at sea, they put the poor gentleman into a sack, and threw him into the sea. This was the end of the *Sieur Du Belloy*.

As for *Sieur Des Marests*, he was a gentleman, born in the Dauphinate, near to Lorient, who having killed his adversary in a duel, fled into Poland, where he so far signalized himself, that he won the esteem and affection of the General of the Polonian army. At that time the Grand Seignior kept in the prison of the Seven Towers at Constantinople, two noble Polonians; whereupon the Polonian General observing the courage and address of this *Des Marests*, who was a daring fellow, and a good engineer besides, made a proposal to him, to go to Constantinople, and to endeavour, if he could by any means in the world, to set those Princes at liberty. *Des Marests* willingly accepted the employment, and without doubt he had succeeded in his design, had he not been discovered by some Turks, who accused him for having been too circumspect in viewing the Seven Towers, seeing him with a chalk pencil in his hand ready to take the draught thereof, which seemed to

tend to no good design. This had been enough to have ruined the gentleman, had not Monsieur De Cesy, the French Ambassador stifled the further examination of the business by some present; which in Turkey is the most sovereign remedy upon all accidents of danger; telling the Visier, that he was only a French gentleman that travelled for his pleasure, and one that was going for Persia with the first opportunity. However it was not Marest's design at that time to go very far, for he intended to have returned into Poland, so soon as he had used his utmost endeavours to set the Princes at liberty; but for his own safety it behoved him to give it out that he was gone to Persia; and at length he was constrained to go thither indeed. As for the Grand Seignior, he had resolved never to set the two noblemen at liberty. But at length they were so fortunate as to gain the love of a young Turk, who was the son of the Captain of the Seven Towers; with whom the father usually trusted the keys to open and shut the gates of the prison. The night appointed for their flight, he made as if he had shut some doors, the padlocks whereof he left all open. But he durst not do so by the two first gates, near one of which the Captain with a strong guard lay, for fear of being discovered. The young man, who had entirely devoted himself to serve the Princes, having foreseen this difficulty before, had bethought himself of ropeladders to get over the two walls; to which purpose it was necessary to have a correspondence within and without. Finding therefore that because the utmost of severiry was not used toward those Princes, they had the liberty to receive several

dishes of meat from the French Ambassador's kitchen, the clerk of the kitchen was made of the plot, who thereupon sent them in several cords in pasties, whereof they made ladders. The business succeeded so well, that the escape was made, and the young Turk fled with the Polonian lords into Poland, where he turned Christian, and received ample rewards both in employments and money. The same gratitude proportionably was observed toward those who had contributed toward the liberty of the Princes, who amply acknowledged the services which they had received from every one of them.

In the mean time the *Sieur Des Marests* arrives at Ispahan, and addressing himself to the Capuchin Friars, they brought him to my lodging, where he had the freedom of my table, and a chamber. He staid some time at Ispahan, during which he got acquainted with the English and Hollanders, who had a great esteem for him, finding him to be a person of merit. But it happened one day, that his curiosity putting him upon a bold attempt, had like to have been the ruin of him and all the Franks in Ispahan. Never the inn where we lodged there was a large bath, where the men and women by turns take their times to come and bath themselves; and where the Queen of Visapour, during her stay at Ispahan, as she returned home to Mecca, delighted to go and prattle with the French-men's wives. The *Sieur Des Marests* having a passionate desire to see what the women did, satisfied his curiosity, by means of a cranny in the arch of the vault, which he had observed when he went thither.

for having found out a way without side to get up to that arch, through a blind hole that was next to the inn where he lay, the arch being flat, as I have described them in my *Relations of Persia* and the *Scraglio*, he laid himself upon his belly, and saw through the cranny what he so much longed to behold. He was at this spot some ten or twelve times; and not being able to contain himself, he told me one day what he had done. I bid him have a care of going there any more, for fear of ruining himself and all the French-men in that city. But he contrary to my advice went thither two or three times after that, till at length he was discovered by one of the women of the bath that took care of the linen, and dry them without, upon perches as high as the top of the arch, to which they get up by a little ladder. The woman seeing a man lying all along upon his belly, seized upon his hat, and began to cry out. But Marests, to get himself out of the mire, and hinder the the woman from making more noise, put two tomans, into her hand. When he returned to the inn, I perceived him to look as if he had been scared, and conjecturing that some ill accident had befallen him, I pressed him to confess what was the matter. He was loath at first, but at length he confessed how he had been discovered by a woman, and how he had stopped her mouth with money. Thereupon I told him, that there was a necessity for him to fly, for that the danger was far greater than he imagined. The Dutch President also, to whom I thought it convenient to tell what had passed, was of the same

opinion; upon which we gave him a mule, and as much money as was necessary for him, ordering him to go to Bander, and thence by sea to Surat. I gave him a letter of recommendation to the English President, who was my friend; whom I also desired to let him have two hundred crowns, if he had occasion for them. I wrote very much in his commendation; and and mentioned the proffer which the Dutch President at Ispahan had made him, to send him with letters to the General, who would not fail to employ him according to his merit. For indeed at that time that the Hollanders had war with the Portugueses in Ceylan, any person of wit, and courage, like the *Sieur Des Marests*, was very acceptable to them. Which made them very earnest with him, to take an employment among them; and to that end, they caressed him, and presented him very nobly during his stay at Ispahan. But he told them, that not being of their religion, he was unwilling to serve them against the Portugueses; which was the only reason that hindered him from accepting the offers which I had made him. These particulars I wrote in his behalf to the English President at Surat; so that the *Sieur Des Marests* being desirous to go to Goa to serve the Portugals, the President wrote in his behalf to the Vice-roy, by whom he was very much beloved, relating to him, besides, what the Hollanders had proffered him, that his recommendation might be the more acceptable. Thereupon the Vice-roy made him very welcome; and upon the *Sieur Marests* desire to be employed in Ceylan in the

Portugal army, he sent him away with the first opportunity, with letters of recommendation to Don Philip de Mascaregnas, who was then Governor of Ceylan, and all those places that belonged to it under the jurisdiction of the Portugueses. It happened three days after, that they lost Nagombe, and when they retook it, the Sieur Marests was one of those that received most wounds, and won most honour in the assaults. He it was that afterwards, was most instrumental in saving Don Philip from being drowned ; so that when Philip came to be Vice-roy of Goa, he could not think he deserved a less reward than the command of his guards ; in which employment he died within three or four months. He was very much lamented by the Vice-roy, whom he was entirely beloved. But he left his estate to a priest, with whom he had contracted a particular friendship ; upon condition that he should only pay me two hundred and fifty crowns that I had lent him ; which however I had much ado to get out of the priest's clutches.

While I stayed at Goa, I was told a pretty story concerning a Caravel, or Portugal vessel, which arrived there but a little before, and came from Lisbon. When she was about to make the cape of Good Hope, there happened such a violent tempest, as lasted five or six hours, and put the mariners to such a *nonplus*, that they knew not where they were. At length they fell into a bay, where they saw several inhabitants ; and soon as they came to an anchor, they beheld the shore covered with men, women, and children, that testified a strange amazement to see white people,

and such kind of people as the Caravel. The mischief was, that they could not understand one another, but by signs. But after the Portugals had given those Cafres to-bacco, biscuit, and water, the next day the people brought them a great quantity of young ostriches, and other fowl that seemed to resemble large geese, but so fat, that they had very little lean. The feathers of those birds were very lovely, and those upon the belly proper for beds. One of the Portugueses mariners sold me a large cushion stufft with those feathers, and related to me what had happened to them in that bay, where they stayed seven and twenty days. They gave those Cafres one thing or other every foot, as knives, axes, false coral, and false pearls, out of hopes to have discovered some trade, and particularly whether they had any gold; for they observed that some of them wore pieces of gold in their ears; some beaten thin upon one side, and others like the nails of a lock. They brought two of the people to Goa; and I saw one of them that were several of those pieces of gold in several parts of each ear. The mariner told me, that there were some of their women that were of those pieces of gold under their chins, and in their nostrils. Eight or nine days after the Portugals arrived in that bay, those Cafres brought them little pieces of ambergreese, some gold, but very little; some elephants teeth, but very small; some ostriches, and other birds, some venison; but for fish there was abundance. The Portugals endeavoured all they could by signs to know where they found the ambergreese, for it was very good.

The Vice-roy showed me a piece that weighed not above half an ounce, but he assured me withal that he had never seen so good. They also laboured to discover where they had the gold. After the elephants teeth they made no great enquiry seeing a great number of elephants that came to drink at a river that threw itself into the bay. At length after they had stayed three weeks, the Portugals finding it impossible for them to discover any thing more, because they understood not one another, resolved to set sail with the first wind. And because they had always some of these Cafres aboard in regard they were very liberal of their tobacco, biscuit, and strong water, they thought good to bring two of them along in the vessel; in hopes that they might learn the Portuguese language, or that there might some child be found out that might understand what they said. The mariners told me, that when they set sail, after the Cafres saw that they had carried two of their people away, who perhaps were no inconsiderable persons, they tore their hair, struck there breasts, as if they had been frantick, and set up a most horrible yelling and howling. When they were brought to Goa, they could never be brought to learn any thing of the Portugal language. So that they could get out of them nothing of that further discovery at which they aimed, of a country from whence they only brought away two pound of gold, three pound of ambergreese, and thirty-five or forty elephants teeth. One of the Cafres lived but six months, the other fifteen; but both languished and pined to death for grief to be so trappann'd.

From Goa I passed to Mingrela, where there fell out an accident not to be forgotten. An idolater dying, and the fire being ready prepared for the burning of the body, his wife who had no children, by the permission of the Governor, came to the fire, and stood among the priests and her kindred, to be burnt with the body of her deceased husband. As they were taking three turns, according to custom, about the place where the fire was kindled, there fell of a sudden so violent a shower, that the priests willing to get out of the rain, thrust the woman all along into the fire. But the shower was so vehement, and endured so long a while, that the fire was quenched, and the woman was not burned. About midnight she arose, and went and knocked at the door of one of her kinsmen's houses, where Father Zemon and many Hollanders saw her, looking so gastly and grimly, that it was enough to have scared them; however the pain that she endured did not so far terrify her, but that three days after accompanied by her kindred, she went and was burned according to her first intention.

CHAPTER XV.

The story of Father Ephraim, and how he was put into the Inquisition at Goa by a surprisal.

The Chek, who had married the eldest of the Princesses of Golconda, not being able to persuade Father Ephraim to stay at Bagnabar, where he promised to build him an house and a Church, gave him an ox and two men to carry him to Maslipatan, where he staid to embark for Pegu, according to the order of his superiors. But finding no vessel ready to set sail, the English drew him to Madrespatan, where they have a fort called St. George, and a general factory for every thing that concerns the countries of Golconda, Pegu and Bengala. They over-persuaded him that he might reap a fairer harvest in this place, than in any other part of the Indies; to which end they presently built him a very neat house, and a Church. But in the conclusion, the English sought not so much the interest of Father Ephraim, as their own. For Madrespatan is but half a league from St. Thomas, a sea-town upon the coast of Cormandel, indifferently well-built, as formerly belonging to the Portugals. In that place there was a very great trade, especially for Calicuts, and a very great number of merchants and workmen lived there, the greatest part whereof desired to inhabit at Madrespatan with the English, but that there was no place for them to exercise their religion in the place. But when the English

had built a Church, and persuaded Father Ephraim to stay, many of the Portugueses quitted St. Thomas, by reason of the frequent preaching of Father Ephraim, and his great care as well of the natives, as of the Portugals. Father Ephraim was born at Auxerre, the brother of Monsieur Chateau de Boys, Councillor of the Parliament of Paris; who was very happy in learning languages, so that in a little time he spoke English and Portuguese perfectly well. But now the clergy of St. Thomas Church seeing Father Ephraim in so high a reputation, and that he drew the greatest part of their congregation to Madrespatan, were so enraged against him that they resolved to ruin him. And thus they laid their plot. The English and Portugueses being near-neighbours, could not choose but have several quarrels one among another, and still Father Ephraim was applied to for the composing their differences. Now one day it happened, that the Portugueses quarrelled on purpose with some English mariners that were in St. Thomas road, and the English came by the worst. The English President resolving to have saitsfaction for the injury, a war broke out between the two nations: which had ruined all the trade of that country, had not the merchants on both sides been very diligent to bring things to an accommodation; not knowing any thing of the wicked contrivance of particular persons against Father Ephraim. But all the interposition of the merchants availed nothing: the Friar must be concerned in the affair, he must be the mediator to act between party and party, which he readily accepted. But he was no sooner entered into St. Thomas, but he

was seized by ten or twelve Officers of the Inquisition, who shipped him away in a frigate that was bound at the same time for Goa. They fettered and manacled him two and twenty days at sea, before they would let him once put his foot a-shore : though the best part of the mariners lay a-shore every night. When they came to Goa, they staid till night before they would land Father Ephraim, to carry him to the Inquisition-house. For they were afraid, lest if they should land him in the day, the people should know of it, and rise in the rescue of a person, who was in an high veneration over all India. The news was presently spread aboard in all parts, that Father Ephraim was in the Inquisition, which very much amazed all the French-men. But he that was most surprised, and most troubled at it was Frair Zenon, the Capuchin, who had been formerly Father Ephraim's companion ; who after he had consulted his freinds, resolved to go to Goa, though he were put into the Inquisition himself. For when a man is once shut up there, if any one have the boldness to speak to the Inquisitor, or to any of his Council in his behalf, he is presently put in the Inquisition also, and accounted a greater offender than the other. Neither the Arch-bishop nor the Vice-roy themselves dare interpose ; though they are the only two persons over whom the Inquisition has no power. For they do any thing to offend them, they presently write to the Inquisitor and his Council in Portugal, and as the King and the Inquisitor-General commands, they either proceed against, or send those two great persons into Portugal.

Notwithstanding all these considerations, Father Zenon, taking along with him the Sieur de la Boulay, a decayed gentleman, goes to Goa; where, when he arrived, he was visited by some friends, who advise him to have a care not to open his mouth in the behalf of Father Ephraim, unless he intended to bear him company in the Inquisition. Father Zenon seeing he could do nothing at Goa, advised the Sieur de Boulay to return to Surat: and goes himself directly to Madrespatan, more particularly to inform himself concerning the reason of Father Ephraim's being sent away. But when he understood how he had been betrayed at St. Thomas, he resolved to have satisfaction, and without acquainting the English-President, communicates his design to the Captain that commanded in the fort: who being incensed, as were all the soldiers, at the injury done Father Ephraim not only approved, but also promised Father Zenon to assist him in his design. Thereupon the Father sets his spies; and understanding by them, that the Governor of St. Thomas went every Saturday-morning, early to a Chapel upon a mountain half a league from the city, dedicated to the Virgin-Mary, he causes three iron-bars to be fixed in the window of a little chamber in the Covent with two good locks to the door, and as many padlocks. And having so done, he goes to the Governor of the fort, who was an Irish-man, and a very stout person; who with thirty soldiers, and Father Zenon, issued out of the fort about midnight, and hid themselves till day near the Chapel, in a part of the mountain, where they could not be discovered. The Governor of St. Thomas came

exactly, according to his custom, a little after sun-rising; and as soon as ever he alighted from his Pallequin, was immediately surprised by the ambuscade, and carried to Maslipatan, into the chamber of in the Covent which the Friar had provided for him. The Governor thus surprised, made great protestations against Father Zenon, and threatened him with what the King would do when he should come to hear what he had practised against the Governor of one of his garrisons. To which Father Zenon said no more, but only that he believed that he was better used at Madrespattan, than Father Ephraim was used at the Inquisition at Goa, whither he had sent him. that if he would obtain liberty for Father Ephraim to return, he would leave him in the same place where they had seized his person, with as much justice, as he had to send Father Ephraim to Goa. Many people came to the English President, desiring him to use his authority for the Governor's liberty. But his answer was, that the Governor was not in his jurisdiction, neither could he compel Father Zenon to release him, who had been one of the authors of the injury which had been done his companion. So that he contented himself only to desire of Father Zenon that his prisoner might diné at his table in the fort, promising him to return him when he should require his body; a request which he easily obtained, but could not so easily keep his word. For the drummer of the garrison being a French-man, with a merchant of Marseilles, called Roboll, then in the fort, two days after came to the Governor, and promised him, for a good

reward, to procure his escape. The agreement being made, the drummer in the morning beat the *Revcilles* sooner than he was wont to do, and louder while Roboli and the Governar let themselves down at a corner of a bastion that was not very high; and were presently as nimbly followed by the drummer; so that Madrespatan and St. Thomas being but half a league asunder, they were all three in the town before their escape was known. The whole city greatly rejoiced at the return of their Governor, and immediately dispatched away a barque to Goa to carry the news. The drummer also and the merchant set sail at the same time, and when they came to Goa with letters of recommendation in their behalf, there was no house or Covent which did not make them presents: the Vice-roy also himself caressed them extremely, and took them into his own ship to have carried them into Portugal along with him; but both he and the two French-men died at sea.

Never did any Vice-roy depart from Goa so rich as Don Philipppo de Mascaregnas; for he had a great parcel of diamonds, all large stones, from ten carats to forty. He shewed me two when I was at Goa, one whereof weighed 57 carats, the other 67 and an half; clean stones, of an excellent water, and cut after the Indian manner. The report was that the Vice-roy was poisoned in the ship, and that it was a just punishment of Heaven, for that he had poisoned several others, especially when he was Governor of Ceylan. He had always most exquisite poisons by him, to make use of when his revenge required it: for which reason, having raised himself many enemies

one morning he was found hung in effigy in Goa; when I was there in the year 1648.

In the mean time, the imprisonment of Father Ephraim made a great noise in Europe; Monsieur de Chasteau des Bois, his brother complained to the Portugal Ambassador, who presently wrote to the King his master to send a positive command by the first ships, that Father Ephraim should be discharged. The Pope also wrote, declaring that he would excommunicate all the clergy of Goa, if they did not set him at liberty. But all this signified nothing. So that Father Ephraim was beholding for his liberty to none but the King of Golconda, who had a love for him, and would have had him have staid at Bagnagar. For the King was then at wars with the Raja of Carnatica, and his army lay round about St. Thomas's. Hearing therefore what a base trick the Portugueses had played with Father Ephraim, he sent orders to his General Mirgimola to lay siege to the town, and put all to fire and sword, unless the Governor would make him a firm promise that Father Ephraim should be set at liberty in two months. A copy of this order was sent to the Governor, which so alarmed the town, that they dispatched away barque after barque to press the Vice-roy to use his endeavours for the release of Father Ephraim. Thereupon he was released; but though the door were set open, he would not stir, till all the religious persons in Goa came in procession to fetch him out. When he was at liberty he spent 15 days in the Covent of the Capuchins. I have heard Father Ephraim say several times, that nothing troubled him so much all the

while of his imprisonment, as to see the ignorance of the Inquisitor and his Council, when they put him any question : and that he did not believe that any one of them had ever read the Scripture. They laid him in the same chamber, with a Maltese, who never spake two words without a desperate oath ; and took tobacco all day, and a good part of the night, which was very offensive to Father Ephraim.

When the Inquisitors seize upon any person, they search him presently ; and as for his goods and wearing-apparel, it is set down in an inventory, to be returned him again in case he be acquitted ; but if he have any gold, silver, or jewels, that is never set down ; but carried to the Inquisitor to defray the expenses of the process. They searched the Reverend Father Ephraim, but found nothing in his cloak-pockets, unless it were a comb, an inkhorn, and two or three handkerchiefs. But forgetting to search the little pockets which the Capuchins carry in their sleeves toward their arm-pits, they left him four or five black-lead pens. These pencils did him a great kindness. For the Maltese calling for such a deal of tobacco, which is always cut and tied up in white-paper, for the profit of the seller, who weighs both tobacco and paper together : these papers Father Ephraim kept very charily, and with his pencil wrote therein whatever he had studied at any time : though he lost the sight of one of his eyes, through the darkness of the chamber, which had but one window, half a foot square, and barred with iron. They would never so much as lend him a book, or let him have an end of candle ; but used him as bad

as a certain miscreant that had been twice let out already with his shirt sulphured, and at St. Andrews-Cross upon his stomach, in company with those that are lead to the gallows, and was then come in again.

Father Ephraim having staid 15 days in the Covent of the Capuchins to recover his strength after 20 months imprisonment, returned for Madrespatan, and passing through Golconda, went to return his humble thanks to the King of Golconda, and his son-in-law, who had so highly interested themselves for his liberty. The King importuned him again to stay at Bagnagar, but seeing him resolved to return to his Covent at Madrespatan, they gave him as before, an ox, two servants, and money for his journey.

CHAPTER XVI.

The road from Goa to Maslipatan through Cochin, here described in the story of the taking of that city by the Hollanders.

After the Dutch had dispossessed the Portugals of whatever they had in Ceylan, they cast their eys upon Cochin, in the territories whereof grows the bastard cinnamon, which hindered the utterance of Ceylan, cinnamon. For the merchants seeing that the Hollanders kept up their cinnamon so dear, bought up that of Cochin, which they had very cheap; and that coming into request, was transported to Gomron, and distributed

there among the merchants that came from Persia, from Tartary, from Moscovia, from Georgia, Mingrela, and all the places from the Black Sea. It was also carried away in great quantities by the merchants of Balsara and Bagdat, who furnish Arabia; as also by the merchants of Mesopotamia Anatolia, Constantinople, Romania, Hungary, and Poland. For in all those countries, they use it either whole or beaten in most of their meats, to heighten the taste thereof.

The army which was commanded out of Batavia for the siege of Cochin, landed at a place called Belli-Porto; where the Hollanders had a fort made of palm-tree. It is near to Cranganor, a small city which the Hollanders took the year before; not being able to take Cochin then, though they had made some attempts upon it. So soon as the army landed, they marched within cannon-shot of the city, there being a river between them and the city. That part where the Hollanders encamped, is called Belle-Epine, where after they had fortified themselves, as well the nature of the place would permit, they raised some batteries, which could not much annoy the city, by reason of the distance. They lay there till they had recruits of more men; for they had but three ships full, though he that commanded them were one of the bravest Captains of his time. Some few days after, the Governor of Amboyna arrived with two ships more, and afterwards a Dutch Captain, brought great number of Chinglas, who are the natives of the island of Ceylan. For the forces of the Hollanders would not be so

considerable as they are, did they not make use of the natives of the country to fill up the companies which they bring out of Europe. The natives of Ceylan, are good for digging trenches and raising batteries, but for a storm they signify little. Those of Amboyna are good soldiers, four hundred of which were left at Belle-Epine. The body of the army took shipping again, and landed near to Cochin, not far from a Church dedicated to St. Andrew; where the Portugals, with certain Malavares, seemed to have stayed ashore for the Hollanders coming: but seeing the enemy to land with so much resolution, they only gave them one volley and retreated. In their march the Hollanders descried certain companies of Portugueses near the sea-shore, others somewhat farther up in the land, in a Church called St. Johns. Thereupon they sent out some horsemen to discover their number; but the Portugals still retreated, after they had set fire to the Church. Thereupon the Hollanders made their approaches to the town; and after they had besieged it for some time, a French soldier, who was under their pay, seeing a banner tied at the end of a cord, hanging over one of the bastions, ventured notwithstanding all the bullets that flew about his ears, to see what was in it. But he was strangely surprised, to find nothing but a languishing infant, which the mother had hung there, that she might not see it perish for hunger. The soldier moved to compassion, took the infant and gave it such as he had to eat; at which the Dutch General was so incensed, saying that the soldier should have let the infant perish, that he

called a Council of War, where he would have had the soldier run the gauntlet, which was very cruel ; but the Council moderating the sentence, condemned him only to the strappado.

The same day ten soldiers out of every company were commanded to go to one of houses of the King of Cochin ; but they found no body there, having plundered it the year before. At which time the Hollanders slew four Kings of the country, and six hundred blacks ; nor did there escape but only one ancient Queen, who was taken alive by a common soldier, called Van Rez, whom the commander of the army made a Captian immediately, for his reward. They left one company in that house ; but the Queen stayed there but six days for they gave her into the custody of Savarin, one of the most potent of the petty Kings upon that coast, to whom the Hollanders had promised to give the city of Cranganor, if they took Cochin provided he would be faithful to them.

Six weeks passed ere any thing considerable was done ; but then the Hollanders, storming the town by night, were repulsed, and lost abundance of men, slain and taken prisoners, through the Governor of Cranganor's fault, who commanded them, and was drunk when the assault was made. Two months after, the General of the Hollanders resolved to make another assault in the same place ; and because he would not want men, he sent for those that lay upon the side of Belle-epine. But by misfortune the frigate struck upon the sands, and splitting, abundance of the soldiers were drowned. They that could swim, got to land near Cochin, not finding any other place

convenient, and were all taken prisoners by the Portugals, being not above ten in all, soldiers and mariners. The General however would not give over the assault, but causing the sea-men to land, he armed some with half-pikes, others with swords, to others he gave hand-granadoes, and about ten a-clock in the morning he began the assault, with four companies, consisting each of a hundred and fifty men. The Hollanders lost abundance of men in this last assault, and so did the Portugueses, for they defended themselves stoutly being seconded by two hundred soldiers, who were all Dutch-men, though they sided with the Portugueses, because their countrymen had abated them six months and a half pay for the loss of Touan. Without the assistance of these soldiers, the city had never held out two months, there being among them one of the best Dutch engineers of his time, who had left his countrymen by reason of their ill usage of him.

At length the Hollanders having entered the town toward evening, on Calivete side, and being masters of the chief bulwark, the Portugals came to a capitulation, and the city was surrendered. The Portugals by their articles marched out of Cochin with their arms and baggage; but when they came out of the city where the Hollanders were drawn up in battalia, they were all forced to quit their arms, and to lay them at the General's feet; except the officers, who kept their swords. The General had promised the soldiers the pillage of the town, but not being able to keep his word, for several plausible reasons which he told, he promised them six months pay, which in

a few days after was reduced to eight roupies a man. Samarin also demanded of him the city of Cranganor, according to his promise; which the General made good; but he caused all the fortifications to be slighted first, and left Samarin nothing but the bare walls. For being of a very mean extraction, he was naturally as cruel and barbarous in his disposition. One time the soldiers being so put to it for four days together, that they could get no food for money, two of them had somewhere taken a cow and killed her; for which the General, when he came to know of it, caused one of them to be hanged immediately, and had ordered the other to have run the gauntlet, had not King Perca interceded for him.

King Perca, was a petty King of that country, with whom the General was then in treaty; and the treaty being at length concluded, the General mustered all his land and sea-men, to the number of about six thousand men. A few days after, he sent some companies to besiege the city of Cananor, which surrendered without any resistance. When they returned, the General caused a crown to be made for the new King of Cochin, the other being expelled his country. And upon the day which he had appointed for this most solemn Coronation, the General sat upon a kind of a throne, at the foot whereof, a Malavare or pirate, being led thither between three Captains of each side, fell upon his knees to receive the crown from the General's hand, and to do homage for a petty kingdom, that is to say, the little city of Cochin and its territories, which were very small. The King and the king-maker were both alike. For

no doubt it could not but be a pleasant sight, to see a Hollander, that had been only the cook of a ship, crowning a miserable pirate with those hands that had oftener handled a ladle than a sword.

In the mean time the ships that carried the inhabitants of Cochin to Goa, returned laden with the spoils of those distressed people ; for contrary to the articles of capitulation, the Hollanders were no sooner out at sea, but they took from those poor creatures whatever they had, rifling both men and women, without any regard to sex or modesty.

The General being returned into Batavia, they sent a Governor to Cochin, who to make the place the stronger, demolished a great part of the city. But this Governor used the greatest rigor imaginable, even toward the soldiers ; he shut them up in the city as if they had been in a prison ; nor could they drink either wine, or *Sury*,* or stronger-water, by reason of the great imposts which he laid upon them. (*Sury* is a drink which flows from the palm-trees) So that when the Portugues kept Cochin, men might live better for five or six sous, than under the Hollander for ten. This Governor was so severe, that he would banish a man for the smallest fault in the world, to the island of Ceylan, to a place where they made brick, sometimes for five or six years, sometimes as long as the party lived. For it is often-times observed, that when any one is banished thither, though the sentence be only for a term of years, yet the exile never obtains his freedom afterwards.

* That is, *Turi* or "Toddy" juice.

CHAPTER XVII.

The passage by sea from Ormus to Maslipatan.

I departed from Gomron to Maslipatan the eleventh of May, 1652, and went aboard a great vessel of the King of Golconda's, which is bound every year from Persia, laden with fine calicuts, chites, or calicuts painted with a pencil, which makes them much more beautiful and dearer than those which are printed. The Holland Company are wont to allow to those vessels which belong to any of the Kings or Princes of India, a pilot, and two or three gunners; neither the Indians nor Persians being expert in navigation. In the vessel where I was aboard there were but six Dutch mariners at most, but above a hundred natives. We sailed out of the Persian gulf, with a pleasing and favorable gale; but we had not sailed very far before we found the sea very rough and the winds at south-west, so violent, though full in our stern, that we were not able to carry out more than one small sail. The next day, and for some days after, the wind grew more violent, and the sea more boisterous; so that being in the sixteenth degree, which is the elevation of Goa, the rain, the thunder, and lightning, rendered the tempest the more terrible; insomuch that we could not carry out any other than our top-sail, and that half furled. We passed by the Maldives island, but were not able to discern them, besides that the ship had taken in very much water in the hold. For the ship had lain five months

in the road of Gomron, where if the mariners are not very careful to wash the planks that lie out of the water, they will be apt to gape, which causes the ship to leak when she is loaden. For which reason the Hollanders wash the outside of their ships morning and evening. We had in our vessel five and fifty horses, which the King of Persia had sent as a present to the King, of Golconda; and about a hundred merchants, Persians and Armenians together, who were traders to India. One whole day and night together there rose a cross wind, so violent, that the water rolled in from stern to stern, and the mischief was, that our pumps were nought. By good fortune there was a merchant that had two bales of Russia leather, besides four or five sadlers that knew how to sew the skins, who were very serviceable as well to the whole ship as to themselves. For they made great buckets of the skins, four skins to a bucket, which being let down from the masts with pullies, through certain great holes which were cut in the deck, drew up a vast quantity of water. The same day the violence of the tempest continuing, there fell three thunderbolts into the ship. The first fell upon the boltspit, and split it quite in two; and running along upon the deck, killed three men. The second fell two hours after, and killed two men, shooting along as the other did from head to stern. The third followed presently after, the master, the masters mate, and my self standing together near the main mast. At what time the cook coming to ask the master whether he should take up the victuals, the thunderbolt took him in the lower

part of his belly, made a little hole, and took off all the hair as clean as they dress a pig with hot water and rosin, without doing him any more harm. Only when they came to anoint the little hole with oil of coco's he roared out through the sharpness of the pain which he endured.

The twenty-fourth of June in the morning, we discovered land; and making toward it, we found ourselves before Ponte de Galle, the first town in the island of Ceylan, which the Hollanders had taken from the Portugals. From thence to the road of Maslipatan we had very good weather; where we arrived the second of July, an hour or two after sun-set. There I went ashore, and was most civilly treated by the Dutch President, and merchants, as also by the English.

The eighteenth and nineteenth of June, the Sieur Du Jardin and I, bought us two Pallekis, and six oxen to carry our selves, our servants, and our luggage. Our design was to have gone directly to Golconda, there to have sold the King a parcel of long pearls, the least whereof weighed thirty-four carats, and the biggest thirty-five, with some other jewels, the most part whereof were emeralds. But the Hollanders assuring us, that our journey would be to no purpose, in regard the King would buy nothing that was rare, or of a high price, till Mirgimola, his General and Prime Minister of state, had viewed the commodity; understanding therefore, that he was then at the siege of Gandicot, in the province of Carnatica, we resolved to go thither to him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The road from Maslipatan to Gandicot, a city and garrison in the province of Carnatica. And of the dealings which the Author had with Mirgimola, who commanded the King of Golconda's army. With a discourse at large concerning elephants.

We set forth from Maslipatan the twentieth of June, about five of the clock in the evening.

The next day, being the one and twentieth, we travelled three leagues, lay at a village called Nilmol.

The two and twentieth, we travelled six leagues, to Wouhir, another village; crossing the river upon a floating bridge, before we came thither.

The three and twentieth, after we had travelled six hours, we came to Patemet, a pitiful village, where we were constrained to lie three days by reason of the rains.

The twenty-seventh, we came to a great town, called Bezouart; not being able to travel above a league and a half, because the road was overflowed. There we were forced to stay four days, for the rains had so swelled the river which we were to cross, that the ferryman could not govern his boat against the violence of the stream. There we also left the horses which the King of Persia sent to the King of Golconda; which by that time were reduced to fifty.

While we stayed at Bezouart, we went to see several pagods, of which the country is full; there being more than in any other parts of India; for

unless it be the Governors of towns; and some of their domesticks, all the rest of the inhabitants are idolaters. The pagod belonging to the town of Bezouart, is a very large one, but not closed with walls; it consists of fifty-two pillars twenty foot high, that uphold a flat roof of free-stone; they are adorned with several embossed figures of ugly devils, and several sorts of creatures. Some of those devils are made with four horns, others with many legs and many tails, others lolling out their tongues, and others in several other ridiculous postures. The same figures are cut in the stone of the roof, and between the pillars stand the statues of their Gods upon pedestals. The pagod is built in the midst of a court, of greater length than breadth, encompassed with walls, which are adorned within and without, with the same figures as the pagod; and a gallery upheld by sixty-six pillars, runs round the wall, after the manner of a cloister. You enter into this court through a wide portal, upon which are two niches, one above another, the first upheld by twelve, the other by eight pillars. At the bottom of the pillars of the pagod, are certain old Indian characters, of which the priests of those idolaters themselves can hardly tell the meaning.

We went to see another pagod, built upon a hill, to which there is an ascent of a hundred and ninety-three steps, every one a foot high. The pagod is four-square, with cupola at the top; and has the same embossed figures, as the pagod of Bezouart, round about the walls. In the middle there is an idol sitting cross-legged,

after the manner of the country; and in that sitting posture it is about four foot high; upon the head it has a tripple crown, from which four horns extend themselves; and it has the face of a man, turned toward the east. The pilgrims that come out of devotion to these pagods, when they enter, clasp their hands together, and rear them up to their foreheads; then they advance toward the idol, tossing their two hands so claspt together, and crying out several times *Ram, Ram*, that is to say, God, God. When they come near, they ring a little bell that hangs upon the idol it self, after they have besmeared the face, and several parts of the body, with several sorts of painting. Some there are that bring along with them vials of oil, with which they anoint the idol; and besides, they make an offering to it of sugar, oil, and other things proper to be eaten; the richer sort also adding pieces of silver. There are sixty priests that belong to the idol, and maintain themselves, their wives and children upon the offerings brought to the idol. But to the end the pilgrims may believe the idol takes them, the priests let them lye two days, and the third day in the evening they take them away. When any pilgrim goes to a pagod, to be cured of any distemper, he brings the figure of the member affected made either in gold, silver, or copper, according to his quality, which he offers to his God; and then falls a singing, as all the rest do, after they have offered. Before the gate of the pagod, there is a flat roof, upheld by sixteen pillars, and right against it, is another upheld by eight; which serves for the priest's

kitchen. On the south-side there is a large platform cut in the mountain, where there is a pleasing shade of many fair trees, and several wells digged in the ground. Pilgrims come far and near to this pagod ; and if they be poor, the priests relieve them with what they receive from the rich, that come there out of devotion. The great feast of this pagod is in the month of October, at which time there is a great concourse of people from all parts. While we were there, there was a woman that had not stirred out of the pagod for three days together ; and her prayer to the idol was, since she had lost her husband, to know what she should do to bring up her children. Thereupon asking one of the priests, wherefore she had no answer, or whether she was to have any answer or no ; he told me, that she must wait the pleasure of their God, and that then he would give her an answer to what she expected. Upon this I mistrusted some cheat, and to discover it, I resolved to go into the pagod when all the priests were absent at dinner, there being only one that stood at the gate, whom I sent to fetch me some wafer at a fountain two or three musket-shot from the place. During that time I went in, and the woman hearing me, redoubled her cries ; for there being no light in the pagod, but what comes in at the door ; it is very dark. I felt my way to the idol, and by the glimmering light observed an hole behind the idol. I could not do this so quickly, but that the priest returned before I had done, he curst me for profaning his temple, as he called it. But we became suddenly very good friends by the mediation of two roupies

which I put into his hands, whereupon he presently presented me with some of his *bette*.

The one and thirtieth, we departed from Bezouart, and past the river which runs to the mine of Gani or Coulour. It was then near half a league broad, by reason of the great rains which had fallen continually for eight or nine days together. After we had travelled three leagues on the other side of the river, we came to a great pagod built upon a large platform, with an ascent of 15 or 20 steps. Within it stood the figure of a cow, all of very black-marble: and a number of deformed idols four or five-foot-high; some having many heads, others many hands and legs: and the most ugly are most adored, and receive most offerings.

A quarter of a league from this pagod is a large town; but we travelled three leagues farther, and came to lie at another town, called Kab-Kali, near to which there is a small pagod, wherein there stand five or six idols of marble very well made.

The first August we came to a great city called Condevir, with a double-moat, paved at the bottom with free-stone. The way to this town is closed on each side with strong walls, and at such and such distances are built certain round towers of little or no defence. This city toward the east stretches out to a mountain about a league in compass, and surrounded with walls. At the distance of every 150 paces, there is as it were an half-moon, and within the walls are three fortresses.

The second, we travelled six leagues, and lay at a village called Copenour.

The third day, after we had travelled eight leagues, we came to Adanguige, a very fair town, where there is a very large pagod, with abundance of chambers which were built for the preists; but are now gone to ruin. There are also in the pagod certain idols, but very much maimed, which the people however very superstitiously adore.

The fourth, we travelled eight leagues, and came to lie at the town of Nosdrepar. Half a league on this side there is a great river; but at that time it had but little water in it; by reason of the drowth.

The fifth, after eight leagues journey we lay at Condecour.

The sixth, we travelled seven hours, and lay at a village called Dakije.

The seventh, after three leagues journey we came to Nelour, where there are many pagods, and having crossed a great river, a quarter of a league farther, we travelled six leagues, and came to Gandaron.

The eighth, after a journey of eight hours we lay at Sereple, a small village.

The ninth, we travelled nine leagues, and lay at a good town called Ponter.

The tenth, we travelled eleven hours, and lay at Senepgond, another good town.

The eleventh, we went no farther than Palicat, which is but four leagues from Senepgond; and of those four leagues we travelled above one in the sea, up to the saddles of our horses in water. There is another way, but it is the farther about by two or three leagues. Palicat is a fort that

belongs to the Hollanders that live upon the coast of Coromandel; and where they have their chief factory, where lives also the chief intendent over all the rest that are in the territories of the King of Golconda. There are usually within the fort 200 soldiers, or thereabouts, besides several merchants that live there upon the account of trade; and several others, who having served the Company according to their agreement, retire to that place. There also dwell some of the natives of the country; so that Palicat is now as it were a little town. Between the town and the castle there is a large distance of ground, lest the fort should be annoyed by shot from the town. The bastions are well-stored with good guns: and the sea comes up to the very walls of it; but there is no heaven, only a road. We staid in the town till the next day in the evening, where we observed, that when the inhabitants fetch their water to drink, they stay till the sea is quite out, and then digging holes in the sand as near the sea as they can, they meet with fresh water.

The twelfth, we departed from Calicat, and the next morning about ten of the clock we came to Madrespatan, otherwise called Fort St. George, which belongs to the English, having travelled not above seven or eight leagues that day. We lay at the Covent of Capuchins, at what time Father Ephraim, and Father Zenon were both there.

The fifteenth, we went to St. Thoma's town, to see the Austin-Friars, and the Jesuits Church, in the first whereof is an iron-lance, wherewith they say that St. Thomas was martyred.

The two and twentieth, in the morning we departed from Madrespatan, and after a journey of five leagues we arrived at a large town called Serravaron.

The three and twentieth, after 7 leagues travel, we came to Oudecot, the whole days journey being over a flat sandy country. On each side there are only copses of *Bambous* that grow very high. Some of these copses are so thick, that it is impossible for a man to get into them; but they are pestered with prodigious numbers of apes: those that breed in the copses upon one side of the way, are enemies to them that are bred on the other side; so that they dare not cross from one side to the other, but they are in danger of being immediately strangled. Here we had good sport by setting the apes together by the ears; which is done after this manner. This part of the country, at every leagues end, is closed up with gates and barricados where there is a good guard kept, and where all passengers are examined whither they go, and whence they come; so that men may safely travel there with their money in their hands. In several parts of this road there are rice to be sold; and they that would see the sport, cause five or six baskets of rice to be set in the road, some forty or fifty paces one from the other, and close by every basket they lay five or six battoons about two-foot-long and two inches about; then they retire and hide themselves: presently they shall see the apes on both sides of the way descend from the tops of the *Bambous*, and advance toward the baskets which are full of rice: they are about half an hour

shewing their teeth one at the other before they come near the baskets ; sometimes they advance, then retreat again, being loath to encounter. At length the female-baboons, who are most courageous than the males, especially those that have young ones, which they carry in their arms, as woman do their children, venture to approach the basket, and as they are about to put in their heads to it, the males on the other side advance to hinder them. Immediately the other party comes forward, and thus the feud being kindled on both sides, they take up the battoons that lie by the baskets, and thrash one another in good earnest. The weakest are constrained to fly into the wood with their pates broken, and their limbs maimed ; while the masters of the field glut themselves with rice. Though it may be, when their bellies are full, they will suffer some of the female-party to come and partake with them.

The four and twentieth, we travelled nine leagues, all the way being like the road the day before, as far as Naraveron.

The five and twentieth, after a journey of eight hours, through a country of the same nature, meeting at every two or three leagues end with gates and guards, we came in the evening to Gazel.

The six and twentieth, we travelled nine leagues, and came to lie at Courva, where there was nothing to be found neither for man nor beast, so that our cattle were forced to be contented with a little grass, which was cut on purpose for them. Courva is only a celebrated pagod ; by which, at our arrival, we saw several bands of soldiers pass

by, some with half-pikes, some with muskets, and some with clubs, who were going to join with one of the principal Commanders of Mirgimola's army, who was encamped upon a rising-ground not far from Courva; the place being pleasant and cool, by reason of the great number of trees and fountains that grace it. When we understood the Captain was so near, we went to wait upon him, and found him sitting in his tent with many Lords of the country all idolaters. After we had presented him with a pair of pocket-pistols inlaid with silver, he demanded of us what had brought us into that country; but when we told him that we came to attend Mirgimola, Generalissimo of the King of Golconda's army, about business, he was infinitely kind to us: however, understanding that he took us for Hollanders, we told him we were not Hollanders, but Frenchmen. Thereupon, not understanding what nation we were, he fell into a long discourse with us about the Government of our country, and the grandeur of our King. Six or seven days before, they had taken five or six elephants, three whereof had escaped, having killed ten or twelve of the natives who assisted in the chase; in pursuit whereof the General was preparing; and because we could not stay to see the sport, we were contented to inform our selves of the manner of hunting that vast animal; which is thus. They cut out several alleys or walk in the wood, which they dig full of great deep holes, and cover with hurdles strewed over with a little earth. Then the hunters hooping and hollowing, and beating up drums, with pikes that have wild-fire tied to

the end of them, force the elephant into those walks, where he tumbles into the holes, not being able to rise again. Then they fetch ropes and chains: and some they bring under their bellies others they wind about their legs and trunk, and when they think they have sufficiently hampered the beast, they have certain engines ready, wherewithal to draw him up. Nevertheless, of five, three escaped, notwithstanding the cords and chains about their bodies and their legs. The people told us one thing which seemed very wonderful; which was that these elephants having escaped the snare, are very mistrustful ever after; and when they get into the wood again, they break off a great bough from one of the trees with their trunk, with which they examine every step they go, before they set down their feet, to try whether there be any hole or no in their way. So that the hunters that told us the story, seemed to be out of hopes of ever taking those three elephants which had escaped. Had we been assured that we might have been eye-witnesses of this miraculous precaution of the elephant, we would have staid three or four days, what-ever urgent business we had. The Captain himself was a kind of a brigadier, that commanded three or four thousand men, who were quartered half a league round the country.

The seven and twentieth, after two hours travel, we came to a great village, where we saw the two elephants which had been so lately taken. Every one of the two wild elephants was placed between two tame ones. Round about the wild elephants stood six men, with every one

an half-pike in their hands, and a lighted-torch fastened at the end of the pike, who talked to the beasts, giving them meat, and crying out in their language, *Take it, eat it.* The food which they gave them was a little bottle of hey, some pieces of brown-sucré, and rice boiled in water, with some few corns of pepper. If the wild elephants refused to do as they were bidden, the men made signs of the tame elephants to beat them, which they did, banging the refractory elephant upon the head and forehead with their trunks; and if he offered to make resistance, the other elephant, thwackt him on the other side; so that the poor elephant, not knowing what to do, was constrained to learn obedience.

Being thus fallen into the story of elephants, I will add some other observations, which I have made upon the nature of those animals. Though the elephant never meddles with the female, after he is once taken, yet he is sometimes seized with a kind of lustful rage. One day that Shajehan was an hunting upon one of his elephants, with one of his sons that sat by him to fap him, the elephant became so furious by reason of his lust, that the governor, who was by no means able to master him, declared to the King, that to allay the fury of the elephant, who would else doubtless bruise him to pieces among the trees there was no way, but for one of the three to forfeit his life: and that he would willingly sacrifice his for the safety of the King and the Prince, his son. Only he desired his Majesty to take care of three small children which he must leave behind him. Having so said, he threw

himself under the elephant's feet, who had no sooner taken him in his trunk and squeezed him to pieces with his feet, but he grew as quiet and peaceable as before. The King, as an acknowledgment for so famous a deliverance, gave to the poor two-hundred-thousand roupies, and highly advanced every one of the sons of him that had so generously laid down his life for the safety of his sovereign.

I observed also, that though the elephant's skin be very hard while he is alive; yet when he is dead, it is just like melted-glue.

Elephants are brought from several parts of India; as from the island of Ceylan, where they are very small; but the most courageous of all from the isle of Sumatra; from the kingdom of Cochin; from the kingdom of Siam; and from the frontiers of the kingdom of Boutam near the great Tartarie. They are brought also from the coast of Melinda, eastward of Africa: where they are in very great numbers, according to the report of a Portuguese-Captain, made at Goa, who came from thence to make some complaint against the Governor of Mozambique. He told me that he had seen all along that coast several parks that were empaled with nothing but elephant's-teeth, the least of which parks is above a league about: he added further, that the blacks of the country hunt their elephants, and eat the flesh. But they are obliged to give the tusks of every one they kill to the Lord of the place. When they intend to take their elephants in the island of Ceylan, they make a long lane, closed in on both sides, so that the elephant can neither run

to the right nor to the left: this lane is board at the first; but grows narrower, till there is no more room left at the farther-end than for the female-elephant to lie down, which must be one that is covetous of the male at the same time. Though she be tame, yet she is bound with good ropes and cords, and by her cries will call the male-elephant, who presently runs through the lane towards her. Now when the elephant comes where the lane grows narrow, they that lie hid for that purpose, immediately barricado up the lane behind, and when he comes near the female, there is another barricado set up that stops him from going any farther. When he is thus between the barricados, they so entangle his legs and trunk with ropes and cords, that he is soon taken, having no way to help himself. The same way they use for the most part in the kingdoms of Siam, and Pegu, only that the natives there mount the female-elephant, and go to find out the male in the forests. And when they have met with his haunt, they tie the female to the most convenient place they can find, and then they fix their snares for the elephant, who in a short time hastens toward the female, hot for generation, where her cries call him.

This is observable of the female-elephant, that when she begins to be hot, she gathers together a great heap of herbs and weeds, and makes herself a kind of bed some four or five-foot-high from the ground, where contrary to the custom of all other creatures, she lies upon her back, in expectation of the male, whom she calls to her by a peculiar cry.

This is also particular to the elephants in the isle of Ceylan, that only the first elephant which the female produces, has any tusks. And it is also observable, that the ivory which comes from Achen * when it is wrought, has this peculiar quality with it, that it never grows yellow, like that which comes out of the continent, and from East-Indies, which makes it more esteemed, and dearer than any other.

When the merchants bring elephants to any place to sell, it is a pleasant sight to see them go along. For in regard there are generally old and young together, when the old ones are gone by, the children will be running after the little ones to play with them, and give them something or other to eat. While the young elephants, which are very wanton, are busily taking what is offered them, the children leap upon their backs: but when the young elephants that lately stopt for the lure of the victuals perceiving their dams, a great way before, double their pace, and playing with their trunks, throw the children off their backs to the ground, yet without doing them any harm.

Notwithstanding all the enquiry I have made, I could never find exactly how long an elephant will live. Nor can all the governors† and keepers of those creatures tell you more, than such an elephant has been in the possession of their father, their grandfather, and great grandfather. And by that computation, I found that they had lived

* Assam.

† Ordinarily called *Mahouts*.

some of them six-score, or an hundred and thirty years.

The greatest part of those that have made relations of India, boldly affirm that the Great Mogul keeps three or four-thousand elephants. But being my self at Jehanabad,* where the King at present resides, he that was chief Master of the elephants, assured me that the King had not above five-hundred elephants, which were called elephants of the house, made use of only to carry the women their tents, and luggage;† but that for the wars, he only kept fourscore, or fourscore and ten at most. The noblest of the latter sort is always reserved for the King's eldest son, the allowance for his food and other necessaries being 500 roupies a month, which comes to 750 livres. There are some that are not allowed above 50, others, 30, and some but 20 roupies. But those elephants that are allowed an hundred, two hundred, three-hundred or four-hundred roupies a month, have belonging to them certain horse-men that live upon the same pay, and two or three young fellows to fan them during the heat of the weather. All these elephants are not always kept in the city; the greatest part being led out every morning into the fields, or among the thickets, where they feed upon the branches of trees, sugar-canes,

* Variouslly written, as Gehenabatt, Gehenabad &c. in this "Relation," by M. Tavernier. Jehanabad or Shahjehanabad was built by the Emperor Shah Jehan contiguous to old Delhi. For a detailed account of this city, see Bernier's beautiful description of "Delhi and Agra, the capital of Indostan" in his *Travels*. (*Bangabasi Press Series*.)

† Vide Bernier's *Travels*: "A voyage to Kachemire."

and millet, to the great detriment of the poor country men. But not a little to the profit of their keepers; for the less they eat at home, the more they gain into their own purses.

The twenty-seventh of August, we travelled six leagues, and lay at a great town called Ragiapeta.

The twenty-eighth, after eight leagues' journey we came to Ondecour.

The twenty-ninth, after nine hours' travel we arrived at Outemeda, where there is one of the greatest pagods in all India. It is all built of large free-stone, and it has three towers, where there stand several deformed figures of embossed-work. It is encompassed with many little chambers for the Priests' lodgings five-hundred paces beyond there is a wide lake, upon the banks whereof are built several pagods eight or ten-foot-square; and in every one an idol representing the shape of some devil, with a Bramere,* who takes care that no stranger that is not of their superstition, shall come to wash, or take any water out of the lake. If any stranger desires any water, they bring it in earthen-pots: and if by chance their pot touches the stranger's vessel, they break it immediately. They told me also, that if any stranger, not of their superstition, should happen by accident to wash in that lake, they must be forced to drain the lake of all the water that was in at that time. As for their alms, they are very charitable; for there passes by no person in necessity, or that begs of them, but they give them to eat and drink of such as they have.

* A Brahmin *Shebait* or the Resident Priest.

There are several women that sit upon the road, whereof some of them always keep fire for travellers to light their tobacco by. Nay, they will give a pipe to some that have none at all. Others boil rice with *Quicheri*,* which is a grain somewhat like our hemp-seed. Others boil beans with their rice, because the water wherein they are boiled never puts those that are over-hot into a pleurisy. There are women that have vowed to perform these acts of charity to strangers for seven or eight years, some for more, some for less according to their convenience. And to every traveller they give some of their beans, and rice-water, and an handful of rice to eat. There are other women upon the high-way, and in the fields, looking behind their horses, their oxen, and their cows, who have made vows never to eat but what they find indigested in the dung of those beasts. Now in regard there is neither barley nor oats in that country, they give their cattle certain great crooked pease, which they bruise before between two mill-stones: and then lay them in steep for half an hour; for they are a very solid substance, and hard to be digested. They give their cattle these pease every evening; and in the morning they feed them with two pound of dark-brown-sugar, like wax, kneaded together with as much meal, and one-pound of butter, whereof the ostlers or grooms make little round balls which they thrust down their throats; for otherwise they would never eat them. Afterwards

* The ordinary country dish known as *Kachery*, a mixed food consisted of rice, pulse, *ghee* and spices.

they wash their mouths, that are all over clam-ed, especially their teeth, which makes them have such an aversion against that sort of food. All the day long they pull up the grass and weeds, by the roots, and give their cattle, being very careful of letting them eat any of the earth.

The thirtieth, we travelled eight leagues, and lay at a place called Goulupale.

The one and thirtieth, after we had travelled nine hours, we stopt at Gogeron.

The first of September we travelled but six leagues, and came to lie at Gandicot. It was but eight days before, that the Nahab had taken that city, after a siege of three months. Nor had it been taken without the assistance of certain French-men, who had forsaken the service of the Dutch-Company, by reason of ill-usage. They had also several English and Dutch-cannoneers, with two or three Italians, which mainly forwarded the surrender of that place.

Gandicot is one of the strongest cities in the kingdom of Carnatica. It is situated upon the point of an high mountain; there being but one cent to it, not above twenty or five and twenty of broad at most; in some places not above seven or eight-foot-wide. On the right-hand of the way, which is cut out of the mountain, there is a most hideous precipice; at the bottom whereof runs a vast river. Upon the top of the mountain, there is a small plain, but a quarter of a league broad, and about half a league long. This is all sowed with rice and millet, and watered with many little springs. The top of the

plain on the south-side, where the city is built, is encompassed with precipices, two rivers running at the bottom, which form the point. So that there is but one gate to enter into the city from the plain-side; and that too fortified with three good walls of free-stone, with moats paved at the bottom with free-stone; so that the besieged had but only one quarter of the city to defend, containing about five hundred paces. They had but two iron-guns, the one carrying twelve-pound-ball, the other eight. The one was planted upon the gate, the other upon a point of a kind of a bastion. So that until the Nahab had found the way to mount his cannon upon a very high place near the city, he lost a great number of men by several sallies which the besieged made. The Rajah that was within, was esteemed one of the bravest and most experienced Captains that ever were amongst the idolaters: whereupon, the Nahab finding that the place was not to be taken, unless he could get up his cannon to the top of that steep ascent, sent for all the French-men that were in the King's service, promising to every one four months, extraordinary pay, if they could find a way to mount his cannon up to the top of such a place; wherein they had the good-hap to be very successful. For they mounted four pieces of cannon, and were so prosperous, as to hit the great gun that was planted upon the gate, and render it unserviceable. At length, when they had beaten down good part of the walls of the city, the besieged came to capitulate, and marched out of the town upon good articles. The day we arrived, all the army was encamped at the

foot of the mountain, in a plain, through which there ran a very fair river; where the Nahab mustered his cavalry, and found them in a very good condition. An English-cannoneer and an Italian seeing Monsieur Jardin and my self pass by, guessed us to be *Franguis*;* and because it was late, accosted us very civilly, and obliged us to stay with them all night. By them we understood that there was in the city a French-Engineer, whose name was Claudius Maille of Bourges, and that he was employed by the Nahab to cast some pieces of cannon which the Nahab intended to leave in the city.

The next day we went into the city, and found out Maille's lodging, having been acquainted with him at Batavia; who informing the Nahab of our arrival, he presently sent us provision for our selves and our beasts.

The third day we went to wait upon the Nahab, who had pitched his tents upon that part of the plain near the place where the way is cut ~~off~~ of the rock. We informed him of the cause of our coming, telling him that we had some commodities that were rare, and worth the King's buying; but that we were unwilling to shew them to the King till he had seen them; believing it our duty to render him that respect. The Nahab was very well-pleased with our compliment; and after he had caused us to be presented with *bette*, we took our leaves of him, and returned to our lodgings, whither he sent to us two bottles of wine, one of sack,

* The term *Feringhes* was originally applied to the Portuguese only. Afterwards it was applied to any European.

and the other of *Schiras*,* which is a rare thing in the country.

The fourth day we waited upon him again, and carried along with us some pearls of an extraordinary weight, beauty and bigness; the least whereof weighed twenty-four carats. After he had viewed them and shewed them to some of the lords that were about him, he asked the price, which when we had set him, he returned us our jewels and told us he would consider of it.

The tenth day he sent for us in the morning, and after he had caused us to sit down by him, he sent for five small bags full of diamonds, every bag containing a good handful. They were loose stones, of a very black water, and very small; none of them exceeding a carat, or a carat and a half; but otherwise very clean. There were some few that might weigh two carats. After the Nahab had shewn us all, he asked us whether they would sell in our country. We made answer, that they might have been for sale in our country, provided they had not been of a black water; for that in Europe we never esteemed any diamonds, but such as were clean and white, having but a small esteem for any others. It seems, that when he first undertook the conquest of this kingdom for the King of Golconda, they informed him that there were diamond mines in it. Whereupon he sent twelve thousand men to dig there; who in a whole year's time could find no more than those five small bags full. Whereupon the

* *Schiras*—a kind of luxurious alcoholic beverage. It was a favourite drink of the Mussulman nobility and gentry.

Nahab perceiving that they could find none but brown stones, of a water inclining much more to black than white, thought it but loss of time, and so sent all the people back to their husbandry.

The eleventh, the French cannoneers came all to the Nahabs tent, complaining that he had not paid them the four months pay which he had promised them; threatening him, that if he did not discharge it, they would leave him; to which the Nahab promised to give them satisfaction the next day.

The twelfth, the cannoneers not failing to give him another visit, the Nahab paid them three months, and promised to pay them the fourth before the month were out; but soon as they had received their money, they fell a-feasting one another, so that the dancing wenchs carried away the greater part of their coin.

The first part of the month the Nahab went out to see the guns which Maille had undertaken to cast. For which purpose he had sent for brass from all parts, and got together a great number of idols which the soldiers had pillaged out of the pagod as they marched along. Now you must know, that in Gandicot there was one pagod, said to be the fairest in all India, wherein there were several idols, some of gold, and others of silver; amongst the rest there were six of brass, three sitting upon their heels, and three upon their feet, ten foot high. These idols were made use of among the rest. But when Maille also had provided all things ready, he could not make those six idols run, that were taken out of the great pagod of Gandicot, though he melted all the rest. He tried

several ways, but it was impossible for him to do it, whatever expense the Nahab was at; nay though the Nahab threatened to hang the Priests for having enchanted those idols. And thus Maille could never make any more than only one single piece, and that split upon trial; so that he was forced to leave the work unfinished, and soon after left the Nahab's service.

The fourteenth, we went to take our leaves of the Nahab, and to know what he had further to say to us, concerning the commodities we had then shewn him. But then he told us, he was busy at present about the examination of certain offenders which were brought before him. For it is the custom of that country, never to put a man in prison; but as soon as the offender is taken, he is examined, and sentence is pronounced upon him, according to his crime, which is immediately executed; or if the party taken, be found innocent, he is as soon acquitted. And let the controversy be of what nature it will, it is presently decided.

The fifteenth in the morning, we went to wait upon him again, and were immediately admitted into his tent, where he sat with his two secretaries by him. The Nahab was sitting according to the custom of the country, bare-foot, like one of our tailors, with a great number of papers sticking between his toes, and others between the fingers of his left hand, which papers he drew sometimes from between his toes, sometimes from between his fingers, and ordered what answers should be given to every one. After his secretaries had wrote the answers, he caused them to read them, and then took the letters and sealed them himself; giving some

to foot messengers, others to horsemen. For you must know, that all those letters which are sent by foot-posts all over India, go with more speed than those which are carried by horseman. The reason is, because at the end of every two leagues there are little huts, where there are men always ready, who are engaged to run-away immediately ; so that when one of these men that carries the letters, comes to one of these huts, he throws the letters into the hut, and then he that is appointed, runs with them to the next stage. They look upon it as an ill-omen, to give the letters into the messengers hands ; but they must be thrown at his feet, and he must gather them up. It is to be observed also, that the high ways in most parts of India, are like walks of trees ; and that where [there are no trees, at every five hundred paces distance there are set up little heaps of stones, which the inhabitants of the next villages are bound to white-wash from time to time, to the end those letter-carriers may not miss their ways in dark and rainy nights. While we stayed with the Nahab, certain officers came to tell him, that they had brought certain offenders to the door of his tent. He was above half an hour before he returned them any answer, writing on, and giving instructions to his secretaries ; but by and by, all of a sudden he commanded the offenders to be brought in, and, after he had examined them, and made them confess the crime of which they stood accused, he was above an hour before he said a word, still writing on, and employing his secretaries. In the mean while several of the officers of the Army came to tender their respects to him in a very submissive manner,

all whom he answered only with a nod. There was one of the offenders which were brought before him, had broken into a house, and had killed the mother and three children. He was condemned upon the spot to have his hands and feet cut off, and to be cast out into the highway, there to end his days in misery. Another had robbed upon the highway ; for which the Nahab ordered his belly to be ript up, and himself to be cast upon the dunghill. I know not what crimes the other two had committed, but their heads were both cut off. When we perceived him at a little leisure, we asked him whether he had any other commands, to lay upon us, and whether he thought our commodities fitting to be shewn to the King. He answered, that we might go to Golconda, and that he would write to his son in our behalf, and that his letter would be there sooner than we. And in order to our journey, he ordered us sixteen horsemen to convoy us, and to provide us necessaries upon the road, till we came to a river, thirteen leagues from Gandicot, which no persons are to pass, unless they have the Nahab's passport, to keep the soldiers from running from their colours.

CHAPTER XIX.

The road from Gandicot to Golconda.

The sixteenth in the morning, we set out of Gandicot, accompanied with the greatest part of the cannoneers, who brought us the first days journey upon our way; and that day having travelled seven leagues, we came to lye at Coteпали.

The seventeenth, the cannoneers took their leaves of us; and we kept on our journey with our horsemen; and having travelled six leagues, we lay at a village called Coteen, on the other side of the river, which is very broad. So soon as we had crossed it, the horsemen took their leaves of us; and though we made them a present of roupies, to buy them tobacco and *bette*, yet we could not persuade them to take it. Their ferry-boats wherewith they cross the river, are like broad bottomed wicker flaskets, covered without with oxen's hides; at the bottom whereof they lay certain faggots, over which they spread a piece of old tapestry, to keep the wares and merchandise from the wet. As for their coaches and waggon, they fasten them between two boats, by the wheels and the pole; the horses swimming all the while, one man whipping them on behind, while another in the boat holds them up by the head-stall. As for the oxen that carry the luggage, as soon as ever they come to the river side, and that they have unladed them, they only dive them into the river, and they will swim over of themselves. There are four men that stand upright at the four

corners of the boat, and row it along with broad pieces of wood, made like shovels. If they do not all strike their stroaks together, but that any of the four misses, the boat will turn round two or three times; and the stream carries it a great way lower than where they intended to land.

The eighteenth, after five hour's travel we arrived at Morimal.

The nineteenth, we travelled nine leagues, and lay at Santesela.

The twentieth, we travelled nine leagues more, and lay at Goremeda.

The one and twentieth, after six hours' travel, we spent the night at Kaman, a frontier town in the kingdom of Golconda, till the conquest of Carnatica by Mirgimola.

The two and twentieth, we travelled seven leagues, and came to lye at Emelipata. When we were about half the way, we met above four thousand persons, men and women; and above twenty *Pallekis*, in every one whereof was an idol. They were adorned with coverings of satin, purpled with gold, and velvets with gold and silver fringe. Some of these *Pallekis* were borne by four men; others by eight, and some by twelve, according as the idols were in bigness and weight. On each side of the *Pallekie*, walked a man, with a large fan in his hand, five foot in compass, made of ostriche's and peacock's feathers, of various colours. The handle of the fan was five or six feet long, laid all over with gold and silver, about the thickness of a French crown. Every one was officious to carry one of these fans, to keep the flies from the idols face. There was another fan, which

was carried close by the idol, somewhat larger than the former, without a handle, and was borne just like a target. It was adorned with feathers of several colours, and little bells of gold and silver round about the edges. He that carried it went always near the idol upon the same side, to shade the idol; for to have shut the curtains would have been too hot. Ever and anon, he that carried that sort of fan, brandished it in the air, to make the bells ring; which they presumed to be a kind of pastime to the idol. All these people, with their idols came from Brampour, and the adjacent parts, and were going to visit their great Ram, that is to say their chief God, who stands in a pagod in the territories of the King of Carnatica. They had been about thirty days upon the road, and were to travel fourteen or fifteen more, before they came to this pagod. One of my servants, who was a native of Brampour, and of the same superstition, begged me to give him leave to bear his Gods company, telling me withal, that he had made a vow long since to go this pilgrimage. I was constrained to let him go. For had I not given him leave, I knew he would have taken it, by reason he had much acquaintance and kindred among the rabble. About two months after, he returned again to us to Surat, and because he had faithfully served Monsieur Jardin and my self, we made no scruple to take him again. Asking him some questions about his pilgrimage, he related to me this following passage: six days after he left me, all the pilgrims had made an account to go and lye at such a village, to which before they came they were to cross a river, that has but

little water in summer, so that it is easily fordable. But when it rains in India, the water falls with such a force, that it seems to be a perpendicular deluge; and in less than an hour or two a small river shall swell three or four foot high. The rains having overtaken those pilgrims, the river was swelled in that manner, that it was impossible to pass it that day. Now because it is not necessary for travellers in India to carry provisions, especially for the idolaters, who never eat any thing that ever had life; in regard that in the least village you may meet with abundance of rice, meal, butter, milk meats, lentils, and other pulse, besides sugar, and sweet-meats, dry and moist. The people were very much surprised, having no victuals, when they came and saw the river swelled. In short, they had nothing to give their children to eat; which caused great lamentation among them. In this extremity the chiefest of their Priests sat himself down in the midst of them, and covering himself with a sheet began to cry out that, they who would have any victuals should come to him; when they come, he asked every one what they would have, whether rice, or meal, and for how many persons; and then lifting up the corner of the sheet, with a great ladle he distributed to every one that which they asked for; so that the whole multitude of four thousand souls was fully satisfied. My servant did not only tell me this story, but going several times afterwards to Brampour, where I was known to the chief men in the city, I enquired of several, who swore to me by their *Ram, Ram*, that it was truth. Though I am not bound to believe it.

The twenty-third, we arrived at Doupar, after we had travelled eight leagues, and crossed several torrents.

The twenty-fourth, we travelled eight leagues, and came to Tripante; where there is a great pagod upon a hill, to which there is a circular ascent of free-stone every way; the least stone being ten foot long, and three broad: and there are several figures of demons in the pagod. Amongst the rest, there is the statute of Venus, standing upright, with several lascivious figures about her; all which figures are of one piece of marble; but the sculpture is very ordinary.

The twenty-fifth, we travelled eight leagues, and came to Mamli.

The twenty-sixth, we travelled eight leagues more, and came to lye at Macheli.

The twenty-seventh, we travelled not above three leagues, being to cross a wide river in boats like panniers; which usually takes up half the day; for when you come to the river side, there is neither pannier nor any thing else to cross it. There was only one man, with whom we bargained for our passage; who to try whether our money be good or no, made a great fire and threw it into the flame, as he does to all others that pass that way. If among the roupies which he receives, he meets with any one that turns a little black, you must give him another, which he presently heats red hot; when he finds his money to be good, he calls to his companions to fetch the Manequin or flasket-boat, which lay hid before in some other part of the river. For these sort of people are so cunning, that if they descry any passengers

afar off, they will not be constrained to carry any person over without money. But the money being paid, the man that receives it ; calls his companions together, who take the boat upon their shoulders, and when they have launched it into the river, they fetch their passengers and goods from the other side.

The twenty-eighth, having travelled five leagues, we came to a place called Dabir-Pinta.

The twenty-ninth, after twelve hours' travel, we came to lye at Holcora.

The thirtieth, we travelled eight leagues, and came to spend our night at Peridera.

The first of October, after we had travelled ten leagues, we came to lye at Atenara. This is a house of pleasure, which the present King's mother caused to be built. There are many chambers in a great piazza belonging to it, for the convenience of travellers.

You must take notice, that in all the countries where we travelled as well in the kingdom of Carnatica, as the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour, there are no physicians, but such as attend Kings and Princes. As for the common people, after the rains are fallen, and that it is time to gather herbs, you shall see every morning the good women of the towns going into the fields, to gather such simples which they know to be proper for such diseases as reign in the family. It is very true, that in great cities there may be one or two men that have some common receipts, who go every morning, and sit in some known places, to give their remedies to such as enquire for them, whether they be potions or plaisters. First they feel their pulses, and then giving them some remedy, for

which they do not demand the value of six pence; they also at the same time mutter certain words between their teeth.

The second of October, we had but four leagues to travel before we came to Golconda. We went immediately to the lodging of a young Dutch Chirurgion,* belonging to the King, whom the Sieur Cheteur, envoy from Batavia, had left at Golconda upon the King's earnest entreaty. The King was always very much troubled with the head-ache: for which reason the physicians had ordered that he should be let blood in four places under the tongue; but there was no person that would undertake to do it: for the natives of the country understand nothing of chirurgery. Now before that Peter de Lan, for that was the Dutch-chirurgion's name, was entertained in the King's service, he was asked whether he could let blood? To which he answered, that there was nothing so easy in chirurgery. Some few days after the King sent for him, and gave him to understand that he was resolved to be let blood the next day in four parts under the tongue, as the physicians had ordered, but he should take a care of not drawing away above eight ounces. De Lan returning the next day to court, was lead into a chamber by three eunuchs, and four old-women, who carried him to a bath, and after they had undrest him, and washed him, especially his hand; they anointed him with aromattick-drugs, and instead of his own European-clothes, they brought him a robe according to the fashion of the country.

Surgeon.

After that, they brought him before the King ; where he found four little porringers of Gold, which the physicians, who were present, had weighed. In short, he let the King blood under the tongue in four parts, and performed his business so well, that when the blood came to be weighed, it weighed but bare eight ounces. The King was so satisfied with the operation, that he gave the chirurgion three-hundred pagods, which comes to almost seven-hundred crowns. The young-Queen and the Queen-Mother understanding what he had done, were resolved to be let-blood too. But I believe it was rather out of a curiosity to see the chirurgion, than out of any necessity which they had to be let-blood. For he was a handsome young-man ; and perhaps they had never seen a stranger near at hand, for at a distance, it is no improbable thing, in regard the women are shut up in such places where they may see, but not be seen. Upon this, De Lan was carried into a chamber where the same old-women that he had waited on him before he let the King blood, stript up his arm, and washed it, but more especially his hands ; which when they were dry, they rubbed again with sweet-oils as before. That being done, a curtain was drawn, and the Queen stretching out her arm through a hole, was let-blood ; as was the Queen-Mother afterwards in the same manner. The Queen gave him fifty pagods, and the Queen-Mother thirty, with some pieces of cloth of gold.

Two days after we went to wait upon the Nahab's son, but were told we could not speak with him that day ; the next day receiving the same answer, we were advertised upon enquiry,

that we might wait long enough in that manner; that he was a young lord that never stirred from the King; or that if he did leave the court, it was only to keep his misses company in his own haram. The young chirurgion seeing us so delayed, offered to speak to the King's first physician, who was also of the King's Council, who had testified a great affection toward the Batavian-envoy, and for De Lan himself; for which reason he thought he might embrace an opportunity to do him a kindness. In short, De Lan had no sooner spoke to him, but he sent for us, and having, after much civility shown us, informed himself of the cause of our coming, he desired us to show him our pearls, which we did the next day. After he had viewed them, he made us seal them up again in our own bags: for all that is presented to the King must be sealed with the merchants-seal; and when the King has had a sight of the commodity, it is sealed up with his own seal, to prevent any fraud. Thereupon we left the pearls, so sealed up, in his hands, who promised to show them to the King, and to give us a good account of the trust we had put into his hands.

The next day about nine of the clock before noon we went to the river to see how they wash the King's and the great noble-men's elephants. The elephant goes up to the belly in the water, and lying down upon one side, with his trunk he throws the water several times upon that side which lies out of the water; and when he has soaked himself sufficiently, the master comes with a kind of a pumice-stone, and rubbing the elephant's skin, cleanses it from all the filth that clings

to it. Here some believe, that when this creature is once laid down, it cannot rise of its self; which is contrary to what I have seen. For when the master has well-cleansed the one side, he commands the elephant to turn the other, which the beast immediately does; and when both sides are well-washed, he comes out of the river, and stays a while upright upon the bank-side to dry himself. Then comes the master with a pot full of some red or yellow colour, and streaks the best in the forehead, about the eyes, upon the breast, and all behind, rubbing him afterwards with oil of coco's to strengthen the nerves; and some when all is done, he fastens a gilt-plate upon their foreheads.

The fifteenth, the chief phisician sent for us, and returned us our bags again, sealed with the King's signet, wherewith his Majesty had sealed them after he had looked upon them. He demanded the price; which we told him: whereupon, an eunuch that stood by him, and wrote down every thing, wondering at the high-price of the pearls, told us that we took the King of Golconda's courtiers for persons that have neither knowledge nor judgment; and that he saw every day things of greater value brought to the King. I briskly retorted upon the eunuch, that he was better skilled in the price of a young slave, than the value of a jewel; and so saying, we put up our pearls; and returned to our lodging. The next day we set out from Golconda for Surat, in which road there is nothing considerable but what I have already described, only this is to be remembered, that we were not gone above five days journey from Golconda, but the King, who had

not heard in two days after we were gone, what I had retorted upon the eunuch, sent four or five horse-men after us with orders, if they overtook us, to bring us back : but in regard we were got one days journey into the territories of the Mogul before one of the horse-men overtook us, (for the rest staid upon the frontiers of the two kingdoms;) I, that knew the humour of the country very well, made answer for myself and companion, that at that time our business would not permit us ; and that therefore we begged in most humble manner his Majesty's pardon ; and afterwards I made my companion allow my reason.

Being arrived at Surat, Monsieur de Jardin died of an overflowing of choler. And I made a full account to have gone to Agra to Sha-jehan who then reigned. But at the same instant the Nahab, Sha-est-Kan, the King's brother-in-law, and Governor of the province of Guzerat, sent one of the principal officers of his house to me from Amadabat, to tell me he understood I had some extraordinary jewels to sell ; for which reason he would be glad to see me, and that he would pay me as much for them as the King should do. I received this message while Sieur de Jardin lay sick, and the ninth day after his death I got to Amadabat, and spake with the Nahab. Now in regard he was a man that understood jewels perfectly well, we presently came to an agreement : so that we had no dispute together, but about the quality of the coin to be paid. He allowed me two sorts to choose, roupies of gold, or roupies of silver : but the Prince seeming to intimate to me that he should not be well-pleased to let such a sum in silver to be seen to go

out of his house, we wished I would rather accept my payment in roupies of gold, that made not such a great heap. I consented to his desire; and he shewed me very fair gold, and many roupies, that had not seen the sun in a long time. But in regard the price current of a roupy of gold, is not above fourteen roupies of silver, and for that he would have had me taken my roupies at fourteen and a half, or at least for fourteen and a quarter, it had like to have spoiled our bargain; for I gave him to understand, that in so large a sum, it would not quit cost to lose a fourth part in every roupy of gold. At length to please him, I was forced to take the gold at fourteen roupies of silver and an eighth part. Thus a Prince otherwise magnificent and generous, yet in matter of buying and selling, would needs approve himself to be a good husband. While I staid at Amadabat, he sent me every day to my lodging four silver plates of *Pilaw*,* and other excellent diet; and one day that that the King had sent him as many apples as ten or twelve men could carry, he sent me as many as for their rarity at Amadabat were worth three or four hundred roupies. Besides all this, he gave me a complete habit of honour, with a sword and a cangiar, worth a thousand roupies; and resolving also to give me a horse, he asked me what kind of one I would have. I told him, since he was pleased to give me my choice, that I rather desired a young lively horse, rather than an old one. Thereupon he sent me

* The richest of the country dishes known as *Polaw*. It was a favourite dish of the Mussulman aristocracy.

one that was so given to bounding and prancing, that he threw a young Hollander out of the saddle ; but upon my desire to have him changed, he sent me another, which I sold afterwards for four hundred roupies.

From Amadabat I returned to Surat ; from Surat I travelled again to Golconda, and thence to the mine to buy diamonds. From whence returning back for Surat, I resolved for Persia.

CHAPTER XX.

My return from Surat to Ormus.

Being upon my return to Surat from the diamond mine, I understood that the war was proclaimed between the English and the Hollanders, and the latter would send no more ships into Persia. The English also gave out the same resolutions ; for indeed they had sent four ships into Persia, which they expected back every hour. While I was thus in fear of staying long in a place where I had no business, there arrived at Surat five great Dutch ships from Batavia ; three of which being rather men-of-war, than merchant-men, were ordered to be unladen with all speed, with an intention to look out for the four English vessels that were expected out of Persia. The other two were appointed to follow two or three days after, being in that time to take in provisions for the whole fleet.

In one of those two vessels I embarked, and

setting sail the eighth of January, we came before Diu the twelfth, where we overtook the other three ships. There it was debated at a council of war, what course to steer to meet the English; and it was resolved, that we should steer away for Scindi, where we arrived the twentieth of the same month, and staid there till the twenty-eighth, and then setting sail with a fair wind, we landed at Gomrom the seventh of March.

The End of the First Book.

TAYERNIER'S TRAVELS IN INDIA.

—:O:—

THE SECOND BOOK.

*Containing an Historical and Political description of
the Empire of the Great Mogul.*

CHAPTER I.

*A relation of the last wars of Indostan ; which gives an insight into
the present state of the empire and court of the Moguls.*

I HAVE written this history in such manner, as I knew things to be transacted, during my stay in the country ; leaving it to the reader to make his own reflection as he pleases ; it being sufficient for me to make a faithful description of the potent empire of the Moguls, according to the observation I have taken upon the place.*

This gréat and vast empire, which contains the greatest part of Indostan, and which extends from the mountains on this side the river Indus, to the mountains on the other side of Ganges ; borders

* For critical readers, our advice is to keep a copy of Bernier's *Travels* and Stewart's *History of Bengal* as the reliable reference books which they can easily secure from the "Bangabasi Re-print Series." The page references are given in the following

eastward upon the kingdoms of Aracan, Tipra, and Asia.* Toward the west upon Persia, and the Usbeg Tartars. Southward upon the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour. Northward it runs up as far as the mountain Caucasus. North-eastward the kingdom of Bantam, whence comes our musk, parts it. North-westward it borders upon the country of Chegathey, or the Usbeks.

They are called Moguls, that is, white of complexion; for the last conquerors of the Indies where whites; the natives being all brown, or olive-colour.

Aureng-zeb, the present Emperor, is the eleventh in a direct line, of the descendants from the great Temur-Leng, commonly called Tamerlane; the extent and renown of whose conquests, from China to Poland, has exceeded all the actions of the greatest Captains of the former ages. His successors completed the conquest of all India

foot-notes from those two books of the above Series. Serious readers will find Bernier's book indispensably necessary to fill up the many gaps in the descriptions of events witnessed by both of them. M. François Bernier did even more than that; he took a little active part in the "Late Rebellion" as would be manifested from his descriptions. Major Charles Stewart is no less an authority and his valuable work is to be consulted to remove any doubt or ambiguity in respect of the affairs in Bengal. Tavernier, following the foot-steps of Bernier, tried his hand in a subject for which he had less talents. The state of commerce, conveyance, economy, agricultural produce of India during the latter half of the seventeenth century, which have been vividly recorded in the First Book of these *Travels* are real and faithful so far as he had the opportunity of knowing them. In respect of historical events his talents were much inferior to those of Bernier.

* Probably *Asia* is a misprint for *Assam*.

between the two rivers, with the destruction of several Kings. So that Aureng-zeb has at this time under his dominion, the territories of Guzerat, Decan-Dehly, Multan, Lahor, Kashemire, Bengala, and many other territories; not to mention several Rajas, or petty Kings, who pay him tribute, and are his vassals. The succession of the Kings of India is as follow :

1. Temur-Leng, that is to say, the lame, because one of his legs was shorter than the other, lies buried at Samarchand, in the country of Chegathey, or the Usbeg Tartars, being the place of his nativity.

2. Miram-Cha, the son of Temurleng.

3. Sultan Mahomet, the son of Miram-Cha.

4. Sultan Abousaid-Mirza, the son of Mahomet.

5. Hameth-Sheck, the son of Sultan Abousaid.

6. Sultan Babur, that is, the Valiant Prince, the first Mogul that was of greatest power in India. He died in the year 1532.

7. Homajon, that is, the Happy, the son of Sultan Babur, died in the year 1552.*

8. Abdul Feta Gelal-Eddin Mahomet, commonly called Akabar, that is, the Great, reigned fifty-four years, and died in the year 1605.

9. Sultan Selim, otherwise called Jehan-guir Patsha, that is, the Victorious Emperor of the World, succeeded Akbar his father, and died 1627. He had four sons, the eldest named Sultan Kosrou, the second Sultan Kourom, the third Sultan Perviz, the fourth Cha-Daniel.

* Emperor Humayun died "on the 11th of the month of Rubby al Avul, A. H. 963, January 21st, A. D. 1556." Stewart's *Private Memoirs of Humayun*, p. 175 (Bangabasi Reprint Series.)

10. Sultan Kourom, the second of the four, succeeded Jehan-guir his father ; and was acknowledged by all the nobility, at the castle of Agra, by the name of Cha-Bedin Mahomed, but he would be called Cha-jehan, that is, King of the World.

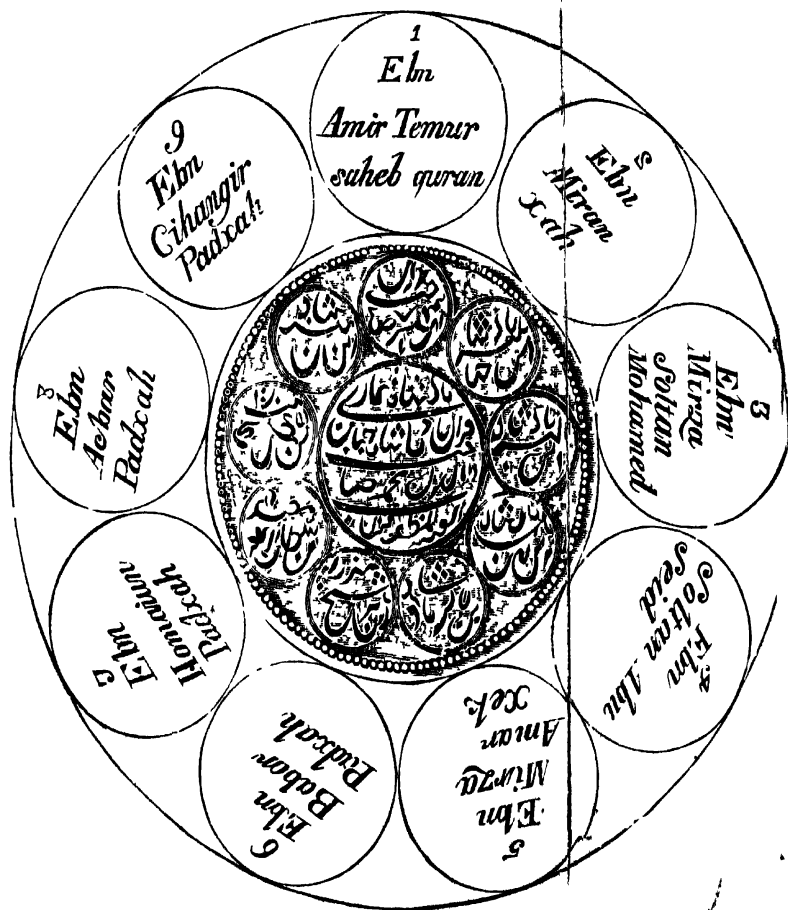
11. Aureng-zeb, that is, the Ornament of the Throne, is the present monarch.

The following figure * shows you what sorts of pieces the Kings cause to be thrown among the people when they come to the throne. They represent the arms or signets of the Kings which I have named. The biggest, in the middle, was Cha-jehan's, the tenth King. These pieces are most of them silver ; there being very few of gold. And as for Aureng-zeb, he never coined any particular pieces to throw away at his coronation.

The Great Mogul is without all question the richest † and most potent monarch of Asia ; the territories which he possesses, being his own hereditary possession ; and being absolute master of all the territories whence he receives his revenues. For in the territories of this Prince, the great Lords are but the royal receivers, who give an account of the King's revenues to the Governors of the provinces, and they to the chief Treasurers and Controllers of the Exchequer.

* See the figure in Appendix;

† Emperor Alimgir (Aurangzeb) is generally known by the epithet, " The Great Mogul." M. Tavernier assigns it to Shah Jehan, in the first part of these *Travels*. Shah Jehan is said to be the richest monarch in the world in his times. For an account and an estimate of his riches, see *Bernier's Travels* (Bangabasi Press Series) pp. 202-204



CHAPTER II.

Of the sickness and supposed death of Cha-Jehan, King of India, and the rebellion of the Princes his son.

This great King had reigned above forty years, not so much as a King over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children. Insomuch, that during his reign there was such a strictness in the civil government, and particularly for the security of the high-ways, that there was never any occasion to put any man to death for robbery. In his declining years he fancied a young lady of an extraordinary beauty, that was not above thirteen years of age ; and because the strength of nature would not permit him to satisfy his passion, he took certain provocatives, which were so hot, that he fell thereupon into a distemper* that had almost killed him. This obliged him to shut himself up in his haram, together with his women, for two or three months ; during which time he appeared very rarely to the people, and that at a great distance too, which made them believe he was dead. For they are obliged by custom to show themselves to the people three times in a week, or in fifteen days at most.

Cha-jehan had six children, four sons and two daughters. The name of the eldest was Dara-Cha, the second was called Sultan Sujah, the third Aureng-zeb, and the fourth Morat-Bakche. The

* Bernier was Shah Jehan's court physician. He knew the cause of this distemper perhaps more than any body else. He does not boldly mention it but only gives slight hint. See page 20.

eldest of his two daughters was called Begum-Saheb, and the name of the second was Rauchenara Begum.

Cha-jehan loved all his four sons alike, and had made them Governors or Vice-roys of four of his principal provinces or Kingdoms. Dara-Cha, who was the eldest, stayed with his father in Dehly, and had the Government of the Kingdom of Sandi, into which he put a Deputy. Sultan Sujah had for his share the Government of Bengala. Aureng-zeb was Vice-roy of the Kingdom of Decan; and Morat-Bakche of the Kingdom of Guzerat. But though Cha-jehan endeavoured to give equal content to his four sons, their ambition was not satisfied with this division, but ruined all the good designs which so kind a father had laid to preserve peace among his children.

Cha-jehan being thus sick, and retired into the womens quarter, without showing himself for many days; the report ran that he was dead, and that Dara-Cha concealed his death, to gain time to provide for himself, and to secure the Empire. True it is, that the King believing he should die, commanded Dara-Cha to call together all the Omrahs or lords, and to seat himself upon the throne, which belonged to him, as the eldest of his brothers. He also testified the desire he had to see him quietly settled in the peaceable possession of the Empire. And this intention of his was looked upon as the more just, in regard the other three brothers had been for some time observed to have less respect for their father, than Dara-Cha. Dara-Cha, who honoured and respected the King with a real tenderness, made answer to the

King, that he desired of heaven nothing more than the preservation of his Majesty's life, and that so long as heaven should continue that preservation, he should take it to be a greater honour to continue himself a subject, than to ascend the throne. And indeed he was never absent from his father, that he might be the better able to serve him in his sickness; and because he would be present upon all occasions, he lay by his father's bed-side, upon a tapestry spread upon the ground.

During the false report of the death of Cha-jehan, his three other sons immediately rebelled, every one laying claim to the father's crown. Morat-Bakche the youngest, who had the Government of Guzerat, sent away forces immediately to besiege Surat, the most considerable port, and most frequented of any other all over India. The city made no resistance, for the walls are very weak, and broken down in several places. But they defended the citadel, where the treasure was, very stoutly; though the young ambitious Prince did all he could to make himself master of it. Chabas-Kan,* one of his eunuchs, who was General of his army, an industrious and active person, and who carried on the siege with all the experience of an old Captain; when he saw he could not carry the castle by main force, caused it to be undermined in two places, by the assistance of an European engineer, which took effect; so that upon the twenty-ninth of December, 1659, he threw down a good part of the walls, and filled up the moat; which very much terrified the besieged. But they presently recovered their courage, and though they

* Chah-Abas.—*Bernier*.

were but a small number, they defended themselves for above forty days, to the damage and slaughter of Morat-Bakche's army. Chabas-Kan, provoked at such a vigorous resistance, sought for all the wives and children, parents and kindred of the cannoneers that were within the castle, to place them at the head of his men, when they made their approaches. He also sent one of the brothers of the Governor of the place, to offer him advantageous conditions. But the Governor, being a very loyal person, and uncertain of the King's death, rejected all his offers. The eunuch perceiving the resolution of the Governor, threatened the besieged to kill all their wives and children, parents and kindred, if they did not surrender the place the next day. But neither did any of those considerations prevail, till at length the breach being made wider, and the number of defendants decreasing, the Governor surrendered upon honourable conditions; which were punctually performed by Chabas-Kan, who seized upon all the treasure, and carried it to Amadabat; where Morat-Bakche was busily employed in squeezing the people to get money.*

The news of the taking Surat being brought to this Prince, he presently provided himself a throne, and sitting upon it on the day which was appointed for the ceremony, he caused himself to be declared King, not only of Guzerat, but of

* Bernier says that Morad Baksh borrowed from the Guzerat merchants large sums of money; and that the loan was not "squeezed" out of them but it was a voluntary contribution. See Bernier's *Travels*, p. 23. Khafi Khan says that the loan was raised from the merchants of Surat.

all the dominions of Cha-jehan his father. At the same time he also coined money, and sent Governors into all the cities. But his tottering throne, not being well fixed, fell soon to the ground; and the youngest of all the brothers, for having usurped a sceptre that no ways appertained to him, was confined to a severe imprisonment. Prince Dara-Cha fein would have relieved Surat; but it was impossible. For besides that he was busied in the assistance of his father the King, his second brother Sultan-Sujah, more powerful than Morat-Bakche, found him far more work to do. He was already advanced into the kingdom of Lahor,* having absolutely reduced the kingdom of Bengala. All that Dara-Cha could do, was to send Soliman Checour his eldest son, with an army against Sultan Sujah. The young Prince having defeated his uncle,† and driven him back into Bengala, the frontiers where of he secured with good garrisons, returned to Dara-Cha his father. In the mean time Morat-Bakche, acknowledged for King in the kingdom of Guzerat, bends, all his force and counsels to make himself Emperor of the Indies, to destroy his brothers, and to fix his throne either in Agra or Jehanabat.

Whiles these things passed, Aureng-zēb as ambitious, but more crafty than his brothers, lets them alone to kindle the first fires; and conceals his own designs, which afterwards appeared so

* A misprint for Behar where Sujah's forces first concentrated after his subjugation of Bengal.

† Near Elabas (*i. e.* Allahabad)—*Bernier*. Near Benares.—*Khasi-Khan* and *Elphinstone*. "At the village of Bahadurpur on the side of the Ganges."—*Alumgir Nama*.

much to the damage of the rest. At first he feigned to lay no claim to the empire, but lived a private life, like a *Dervich*, or religious hermit. And the better to act his part, he declared to his younger brother Morat-Bakche, whom he saw to be so ambitious, how willing he should be to assist him in his designs,* telling him, that because he merited the empire by his valour, he would aid him with his money and his forces to overthrow Dara-Cha, who only stood in his way. The young Prince, blinded with the hopes of his good fortune, easily belived Aureng-zeb. And so joining forces together, he advances towards Agra, to make himself master of that city. Dara-Cha marches to meet them; but the battle† was as imprudently managed by him, as fortunately fought by his brothers. For Dara-Cha, confiding too much in the principal officers of his army, against the advice of his General, who was his chief Minister of State, and faithful to him; thought himself sure of the victory, by falling on before his brothers had time to repose themselves. The first onset

* Bernier, pp. 22-23

† Two battles were fought before Dara was totally defeated by the combined forces of Aurangzeb and Morad. The first battle was fought on the banks of the Sipra, or Narbuda in March 1658, in which Raja Jaswant Sing led the imperial army. The second battle was fought near Samugarh in June 1658, in which Dara Shikho led his forces. Tavernier describes here the last battle. This description is verbose and inaccurate. For an accurate and vivid description, vide the excellent narratives of Bernier (pp. 44-50) and Khafi Khan (Extracts as in Elliot's *History of India*, vol. vii.) or both combined in Monstuart Elphinstone's *History of India*, vol. ii. and Col. Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii.

was very rude and bloody, where Morat-Bakche, full of fire and courage, fighting like a lion, was shot with five arrows into the body. The victory leaning to Dara-Cha, Aureng-zeb retreated; but soon turned head again, when he saw those traitors advancing to his aid, who were in the army of Dara-Cha, and who had treacherously deserted him, after he had lost his best officers and his General. With this assistance Aureng-zeb renews the fight against Dara-Cha; who seeing himself betrayed, and unable to maintain the fight with the small number of men which he had left, retreats to Agra, where the King his father was, who began to mend. The King advised his son to retire to the fortress of Dehly, and to carry the treasure that was in Agra with him; which he did without delay. Thus the victory fell entirely to Aureng-zeb and Morat-Bakche, who before the end of the battle, being weakened with the loss of blood, was forced to retire to his tent, to have his wounds drest. Now it was an easy thing for Aureng-zeb to gain those traitors, as well by reason of the vast treasures which he had, as also for that the Indians are very inconsistent, and want generosity. Besides, the commanders are generally fugitive Persians, persons of little worth, who are altogether for them that give most. Cha-est-Kan, who was uncle to these four Princes, whose mother was the King's sister,* went over to Aureng-zeb with the greatest part

* Seems to be a great puzzle. If the mother of the princes is intended, which seems most likely, then instead of "the King's" the appropriate word would be "his" or "Cha-est-Kan's." Perhaps this mistake is due to the transcriber or printer.

of the principal commanders that had adhered to Dara-Cha and Morat-Bakche, and had forsaken their masters. Morat-Bakche then began to see his error in having trusted Aureng-zeb, who seeing himself favoured by fortune, lost no time to accomplish his ends. Thereupon Morat-Bakche sends to his brother for the half of the treasure that he had seized, that he might retire to Guzerat. But Aureng-zeb for answer assured him, that he had no other design than to advance him to the throne, to which purpose he desired to confer with him by word of mouth. Morat-Bakche in order to that, finding himself indifferently well recovered of his wounds, goes to visit his brother, who kindly welcomed him, extolled his courage, and told him he deserved the best Empire of the world. The young Prince was charmed by the melody of such sweet language, while his eunuch Shabas-Kan,* did all he could to make him sensible of the snares that were laid for him. But when Morat-Bakche should have taken the eunuchs advice, it was too late; for Aureng-zeb had already laid his plot to destroy him. He invites Morat-Bakche to a feast; and the more the one excuses himself, the more the other presses him to come. The young Prince perceiving he would take no denial, resolved to go, for fear of discovering the mistrust he had, although he verily believed that that day would be the last of his life, and that some deadly poison was brewed for him. However, he was deceived in that particular, for Aureng-zeb

* Happened in Aurengzeb's camp at Muttra. See Bernier, p. 64 *et seq.*

not aiming at his life then, contented himself only to deprive him of his liberty, and so instead of advancing him to the throne, sent him away, to be safely kept in the castle of Gavaleor.*

CHAPTER III.

Of the imprisonment of Cha-jehan, and how he was punished by Aureng-zeb his third son, for the injustice he had done Prince Boulaki his nephew, the grandchild of Gehan-guir, to whom, as to the son of the eldest son, the empire of the Moguls belonged.

Gehan-guir, King of India, son of Achbar, and grandchild to Houmajon, reigned very peaceably during the space of twenty-three years, equally beloved both by his subjects and neighbours. But, his life seemed too long to his two sons who were both ambitious to reign. The eldest raised a powerful^{*} army near Lahor,† with an intention to have surprised his father, and to have possessed himself of the throne by force. The King incensed at the insolence of his son, resolved to chastise him; meets him with a considerable army, defeats him, and takes him prisoner, with many of the most considerable nobility that adhered to him. After which, out of a natural affection to his children, he saved his life, but put out his

* At first Morad was kept concealed in a place called Salimgarh near Delhi and afterwards sent to Gawalior.—*Khafi Khan.*

† Prince Khusru.

eyes. And when he was blind he always kept him about his person, with an intention to have preferred his eldest son Boulaki* to the crown, whose father had already many sons, but all very young. But Sultan Courom, his second son, believing it his right to be preferred before a nephew, resolved to leave no stone unturned to remove him from his hopes, and to settle himself in possession before the death of his father. However, he concealed his intentions from him, appearing outwardly very obedient to his father, who always kept about him the children of his eldest son. By that submission he more easily brought about his designs ; for having by that means gained the good will of his father, he obtained leave to carry along with him the blind Prince, his eldest brother, to his government of the kingdom Decan. He laid before his father, that it would be far better to remove from his sight, an object that could not choose but be so afflicting to him ; and that the Prince himself, being blind, would spend the rest of his days more comfortably in Decan, where he might be more retired. The King not penetrating into his design, readily consented to his request. Who when he had that poor Prince in his reach, made him away with that secrecy which he did not to be discovered ; and under the most plausible pretence imaginable, to conceal him from the eyes of men.

After the death of the blind Prince, Sultan Courom took upon him the name of Cha-jehan, that is, King of the World ; and to uphold his title, he raised an army to finish what his brother

* Prince Dáwar Shekó

begun, which was to dethrone his father, and to take possession of the empire. The King incensed as well at the death of his son, as at the attempt against his own person, sent a considerable army to chastise Courom for so bold an enterprize. But the rebellious Prince finding himself too weak to stand his father's force, quitted the kingdom of Decan, and with certain vagabonds that followed him, wandered from place to place, till he came to Bangala, where he raised an army with an intention to give the King battle. To which purpose, passing the Ganges, he marches directly toward the kingdom of Lahor; whom the King in person met, with an army much more numerous and stronger than his. But Gehan-guir being old, and wearied with the troubles that his sons had put him to, died by the way, leaving Chajehan at liberty to pursue his own designs. However before he expired, the good King had time to recommend his grandchild Boulaki to Asouf-Kan, his Generalissimo and Prime Minister of State, who was protector of the empire. He commanded also all the officers of the army to acknowledge him for King, as being the lawful heir; declaring Sultan Komrom* a rebel, and incapable of the succession. Moreover he made Asouf-Kan to swear in particular, that he would never suffer Boulaki to be put to death, which way soever affairs went; which Asouf-Kan swore upon his thigh; and as religiously observed as to the article of not putting him to death; but not as to that of helping him to the crown, which he designed for

* A misprint for Prince Courom (Khurram.)

Cha-jehan, who had married his eldest daughter, the mother of four Princes, and two Princesses.

The news of the King's death being known at court, caused a general lamentation. And presently all the grandees of the kingdom set themselves to execute the King's will and testament, acknowledging Sultan Boulaki for Emperor, who was very young. That Prince had two cousin-germans, who were both of them by the King's consent turned Christians, and made publick profession thereof.* Those two young Princes, being very apprehensive, perceived that Asouf-Kan, father-in-law to Cha-jehan, and father of Cha-est-Kan, had no good intentions toward the young King, and gave him notice of it; which cost them their lives, and the King the loss of his dominion. For the young King, having no more wit than was agreeable to his age, openly declared to Asouf-Kan what his cousins had revealed to him in private, and asked the General whether it were true, that he had a design to set up his uncle against him or no. Asouf-Kan immediately accused the reporters of falsity and impudence, and protested his fidelity to his King, and vowed, to spend the last drop of his blood to preserve him in the possession of the empire. However, seeing his conspiracy discovered, he resolved to prevent the punishment; to which end having got the two Princes into his possession, he put them both to death. But before that, in regard of his power in the army and in the empire, he had already brought over to Cha-jehan's party the greatest part of the Commanders and Lords of the Court; and the

* Bernier, p. 271.

better to play his game, and deceive the young King, he raised a report that Cha-jehan was dead ; and because he had desired to be buried near his father Gehan-guir, the body was to be brought to Agra. This stratagem being cunningly managed, Asouf-Kan himself gave advice of the feigned death to the King ; telling the King withal, that it would be but a common civility for him to go and meet the corpse when it came within a league or two of the city, being an honour due to a Prince of the blood of the Moguls. All this while Cha-jehan kept himself incognito, till coming within sight of the army that lay about Agra, he caused himself to be put into a coffin, wherein there was only a hole left for him to breathe at. This coffin being carried under a moving tent, all the principal officers who were of the plot with Asouf-Kan came to perform the usual ceremonies of state to the body of the deceased Prince, while the young King was upon the way to meet the body. But then Asouf-Kan finding it seasonably to execute his design, caused the coffin to be opened, and Cha-jehan rising up, and showing himself to the eyes of all the army, was saluted Emperor by all the Generals and other principal officers, who had their cue ready ; so that the name of Cha-jehan running in a moment from one man's mouth to another, the acclamation became publick, and the empire was settled upon him. The young King hearing the news by the way, was so surprized, that the thought of nothing but how to save himself by flight, being upon a sudden forsaken by all his followers. And Cha-jehan not believing it any way necessary to pursue him, suffered him to

wander a long time in India like a *Fakir*. At length he retired into Persia, where he was magnificently received by Cha-Sefi, who allowed him a pension fit for so great a Prince, which he still enjoys.*

Cha-jehan having thus usurped the crown, the better to secure himself, and to stifle all factions that might arise during the life of the lawful Prince, whom he had so unjustly despoiled of his right, by degrees but to death all those that had shown any kindness to his nephew. So that the first part of his reign was noted for many acts of cruelty, that blemished his reputation. No less unfortunate was the end of his reign. For as he had unjustly deprived the lawful heir of the empire which belonged to him; he was himself, while he yet lived, deprived of his crown by Aureng-zeb his own son, who kept him prisoner in the fortress of Agra.

For after Dara-Cha had lost the battle against his two brothers, Aureng-zeb and Morat-Bakche in the plain of Samonguir, and was treacherously abandoned by the principal officers of the army, he retired into the kingdom of Lahor, with all the treasure which the confusion of his affairs would suffer him to get together. In the King to resist the violence of his victorious sons, shut himself up in the castle of Agra, to the end he might not be surprized, but have time and leisure to observe

* Elphinstone, on the authority of Olearius' *Ambassadors' Travels* says,—“Dáwar Shekó (also called Boláki), who had been set up for King by Asof Khán found means to escape to Persia, where he was afterwards seen by the Holstein ambassadors in 1633.”

how far the insolence of his children would transport them. As for Aureng-zeb, who had Morat Bakche safe enough, he enters Agra, feigning to believe a report that Cha-jehan was dead, that he might have liberty to get into the fortress, where he said one of the Omras would make it out. The more he reported the death of Cha-jehan, the more did the King endeavour to let the people know he was alive. But finding both power and fortune had taken Aureng-zeb's party; and being also in great necessity for want of water, he sent Fazel-Kan, grand master of his household, to assure his son that he was alive; and withal to tell him that it was the King's command, that he should retire to his Viceroy-ship in Decan, without putting him to any more vexation, and that upon his obedience, he would forgive whatever had past. Aureng-zeb, firm in his resolution, returned for answer to Fazel-Kan, that he was certain that the King, his father was dead, and that upon that account he had only taken arms to secure the crown to himself, which he thought he deserved, as well as the rest of his brothers. That if his father were living, he had too great a respect for him to undertake the least enterprize that should displease him; and therefore that he might be certain he was not dead, he desired to see him, and to kiss his feet; and having so done, he would retire to his government, and punctually obey his commands. Fazel-Kan returned this answer to the King, who declared that he should be glad to see his son, and sent back Fazel-Kan, to tell him he should be welcome. But Aureng-zeb more cunning than Cha-jehan, assured

Fazel-Kan* that he would not set his foot in the castle, till the garrison that was in it should be sent away to make room for his men. For the Prince was afraid, and not without reason, if he should adventure into a fortress where he was not absolute master himself, lest they should seize his person, of which the King being apprehensive, consented to his proposal, not being able to do better at that time. Thereupon the garrison which belonged to Cha-jehan was sent out of the castle, and another of Aureng-zeb's entered, commanded by Sultan Mahomet the eldest of his sons, to whom he gave order to secure his father's person. When they were thus got in, and his father safe, he delayed seeing his father from day to day, waiting (as he gave out for excuse) a kind opportunity for the interview; and pretending his astrologers did not presently think it seasonable, he retired into the country, to a house about two or three leagues from Agra, which very much displeased the people, who waited every day for the fortunate hour, from which they expected a conclusion of their miseries by the father and son's discourse together. But Aureng-zeb, who was in no great haste to see his father, took up another resolution, which was to seize upon all his father's treasure, which Dara-cha had not time to carry away. He also shut up† in the same fortress Begum-Saheb his sister, to keep the King company, by whom she

* Bernier says that Fazel Khan was raised by Aureng-zeb from the humble post of Khanesaman to those of the Prime Minister of State and High Steward.

† It is said that she became a prisoner of her own accord, owing to excessive love and devotion for her father

was entirely beloved: and took into his own hands all the wealth she had got, by her father's liberality.

Cha-jehan enraged to see himself used in that manner by his own son, made an attempt to escape, and killed some of the guards that opposed him; which caused Aureng-zeb more strictly to confine him. In the mean time it was a wonderful thing to see that not one of the servant of so great a King so much as offered to help him; that all his subjects should forsake him, and turn their eyes upon the rising sun; acknowledging only Aureng-zeb for King, while they seemed to have forgotten Cha-jehan, though still alive. Thus this great monarch sadly ended his days in prison, and died in the fortress of Agra in the year 1666 the last time that I was in India.

During his reign he had begun to build the city of Jehanabad,* though he had not quite finished it, and therefore he desired to see it once more before he died; but Aureng-zeb would not give him leave, unless he would be content to go and come back by water, or else to be confined to the castle of Jehanabad, as he was at Agra, which refusal of his son did so torment him, that it hastened his end. Which as soon as Aureng-zeb heard of, he came to Agra, and seized upon all the jewels, which he had not taken from his father while he lived. Begum-Saheb had also a quantity of jewels, which he had not taken from her when he put her into the castle. But now, because she had

* For a charming and an elaborate account of the old and the new cities of Delhi, the readers are referred to in Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 221-267.

formerly taken her father's part, he found out a way to deprive her of them after a very plausible manner ; making a show of bestowing very great honours and caresses upon his sister, and taking her along with him to Jehanabad But in a short time after we heard the news of her death ; which proved, and all people suspected her to have been poisoned.

CHAPTER IV.

*Of the flight of Dara-cha to the Kingdoms of Scndi and Guzerat :
Of the second battle which he fought against Aureng-zeb : his
being taken prisoner, and death.*

Dara-cha having carried along with him the best part of the gold and silver which was in the fortres of Agra by his father's advice, and being got into the kingdom of Lahor, was in good hopes to have raised an army in a short time to have stopt the proceedings of his brother His most faithful servants and friends had always accompained him in his misfortune. And as for his eldest son, Soliman Shekour, he went, with the Raja Roup,* into the territories of that Raja's own

* Bernier mentions one Raja Roup, (p. 166) ; he says that Raja Jay Sing and Dalil Khan plundered Soliman Shekho (p. 157). Khafi Khan says of one Raja Roup Sing, father-in-law of Prince Muazim ; also one Raja Rajrup, a high official under Aureng-zeb, who wrote a menacing letter to the Raja of Srinagar to deliver up Prince Soliman.

demeans, to leavy men ; carrying along' with five-millions of roupies, which make of our money seven-millions and 500,000 livres. But that great sum opening the Raja Roup's eyes, he most treacherously and infamously seized upon it ; whereupon Soliman Chekour, fearing he should proceed further, and make some attempt upon his person, fled in all haste into the kingdom of Sireneguer, under the protection of the Raja Nakti-Rani,* who more foully and basely delivered him up sometime after to Aureng-zeb.

Dara-cha having notice of the Raja Roup's treason, and seeing all his friends had forsook him, and were revolted to Aureng-zeb, quitted Lahor, and retired into the kingdom of Scindi.† Before he left the fortress, he sent all the gold, silver, jewels and wealth that was in the fort, away by water to Baker, a fort in the midst of the river Indus. To guard all that wealth, he left an eunuch, and six thousand men, with all provisons necessary for a siege ; after that he went to Scindi, where he left several great pieces of cannon. Then he marched through the territories of the Raja of Kachnagana, who made him mountainous promises to no effect ; then he came into the kingdom of Guzerat, where the people received him as their lawful King and heir to Cha-jehan. He sent his orders to all the cities, and particularly to Surat, where he appointed a Governor ; but the Governor

* The name of the Raja of Srinagar, according to Khafi Khan, was Prithwi Sing.

† For more accurate and exhaustive accounts, see Khafi Khan's excellent narrative in Elliot's *History of India*, vol. vii., and Col. Dow's *Hindustan*, vol. iii.

of the fortress, who was left there by Morat-Bakche, refused to submit to Dara-cha, so that he was forced to let him alone.

In the mean time Dara-cha received news at Amadabat, that Jessomseing, one of the most potent Rajas in all India, was fallen off from Aureng-zeb. The same Raja also solicits him to advance with his army. Dara-cha confiding in his words, followed his counsel, and marched to Emir, which was the place of rendezvous appointed. But Raja Jessomseing being regained by the persuasions of Raja Jesseing, more potent than himself, to favour Aureng-zeb, never met according to his promise; nor did he come till the last push; and then only with a design to betray the poor Prince. Thus the two brothers meeting, they came to a battle which lasted three days; but in the heat of all the fight, Jessomseing showing an apparent treachery, went over to Aureng-zeb; upon which Dara-cha's soldiers immediately fled. Dara-cha having thus lost all his hopes, and finding fortune contrary to all his expectations, fled away likewise with his wives, some of his children and his most faithful servants, in an equipage that drew compassion. But coming to Amadabat, the Governor having declared for Aureng-zeb, denied him entrance. Thereupon he discamped in the middle of the night, and took the road for Scindi.

He arrived at Scindi, with an intention to pass into Persia, where Cha-Abas the Second expected him with a magnificent retinue, and a resolution to have assisted him with men and money. But not daring to trust himself by sea; as he passed through the country of the Patanes, in the way to

Candahar, he was unworthily betrayed by one of the Lords of the country, * called Gion-Kan ; who had been an officer under the King his father, and who having been condemned for his crimes by the mouth of his father, and ready to be thrown under the elephant's feet, had been pardoned at the intercession of Dara-Cha. For an addition to his affliction, before he came to Gion-Kan's house he received the news of the death of that particular wife † which he loved most entirely, and which had always accompanied him in his misfortunes. He understood that she died through heat and drowth, ‡ not being able to get a drop of water in the country to refresh her thirst. The Prince was so moved at the news, that he fell down, § like one that had been struck quite dead ; and when he came to himself, he tore his clothes in the excess of his grief : an ancient custom still continued in the east. He had always showed himself incensurable upon all other occasions of misfortune, but this fatal stroke so deeply pierced him, that he would receive no consolation from his friends. After this, he clad himself according to his misfortune ;

* Malik Jewan, according to Khafi Khan, was the Zeminder of Dhandar and according to Elphinstone, was that of Jún. Bernier says that he was twice condemned to death and twice saved by Dara

† Nadira Banu Begum, daughter of Sultan Parvez. Khafi Khan says that she died in Malik Jewan's territory. Col. Dów says that she expired by the side of her husband.

‡ Bernier says,—“she had poyson'd her self.” Khafi Khan says,—“she died of dysentery and vexation.” Dow accepts the latter.

§ See the most pathetic description masterly narrated in Colonel Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii.

and instead of a turbant, he only put about his head a piece of coarse calicut. In this miserable equipage he entered into the house of the traitor Gion-Kan, where being laid down to rest himself upon field-bed, a new subject of sorrow awaked him. For Gion-Kan having a design to seize Sepper-Shekour, Dara-Cha's second son, the young Prince, though but a youth, made a bold resistance, and with his bow and arrows laid three men upon the ground; but not being able to resist a multitude, he was at length taken. Dara-Cha wakened with the noise, saw before his eyes his son, whom they were leading toward him, with his hands tied behind him. Then the miserable father of the young Prince, no longer misdoubting the horrid treason of Gion-Kan, could not restrain from letting fall in his passion these expressions. "Finish," said he, "ingrateful and infamous villain as thou art, finish the work thou hast begun; we are become victims to bad fortune, and Aureng-zeb's unjust ambition. But remember that I only deserve death for having saved thy life: for never Prince of the Royal blood had his hands tied behind him before." Gion-Kan in some measure moved at these words, caused the little Prince to be unbound, and only set guards upon Dara-Cha and his son. At the same time he also sent expresses to Raja Jessomseing, and to Abdulla-Kan, to give them advice that he had seized upon Dara-Cha and his train. Thereupon they made haste to share in the spoils of that poor Prince. But they could not be so swift, but that Gion-Kan had seized upon all that Dara-Cha had of most precious in the world; using as inhumanly

both his wives and his children. The Raja and Abdulla being arrived, provided elephants for the Prince his son, and his wives, and carried them away immediately to Jehanabat; the people crowded to behold them, every one being desirous to see the Prince whom they so earnestly desired, to have had for their King. Aureng-zeb caused them to be shown in all the streets* and market-places of Jehanabat, that no man might question hereafter their being taken; and as if he had gloried in his treachery toward his brother, he presently condemned and sent him away to the castle of Asser.† But of all that crowded to behold, not one would stir to assist or succour their lawful Prince. Only some few generous soldiers who had served him, and had received some kindnesses from him, seeing themselves not able to deliver their Prince, yet desirous to show him some proofs of their acknowledgment, fell with all their fury upon the traitor Gion-Kan,‡ who though he were rescued

* Bernier was a spectator of this painful scene. He gives a graphic description of the incidents as to how Dara was led triumphantly through the streets of Delhi. See the *Travels*, pp. 93-94.

† Bernier says that Dara was put into a garden called Heider-Abad; Khan Khan on the other hand asserts that he was kept at Khiziabad.

‡ "Only there were some *Fakirs*, and with them some poor people, who seeing that infamous Gion-Kan ride by his side, began to rail and throw stones at him, and to call him traitor. * * * and there was heard nothing but loud out-crys and lamentations, invectives and curses heaped on Gion-Kan." *Bernier*.

"The idlers, the partisans of Dara Shuho, the workmen and people of all sorts, inciting each other, gathered into a mob, and assailing Jiwan and his companions with abuse and imprecations,

from them at that time, yet soon after met with the reward due to his crime; for he was killed as he was crossing a wood in his return home.*

In the mean time Aureng-zeb, like a good politician, and an extraordinary dissembler, gave it out, that it was by no order of his that Dara-Cha was seized; only he desired him to retire out of the kingdom, which he refusing to do, Gion-Kan, unknown to him, had unworthily seized his person; and without respect to the Royal-blood, had shamefully tied the the hands of the young Sepper-Shekour behind him: which being a crime and an indignity done to his Majesty, had been punished by the death of Gion-Kan and his accomplices. But this was only punished to abuse the people; for had it been true, Aureng-zeb would never have given order to have his brother's head cut off.

For Dara-Cha being sent from Jehanabat with a guard to the place of his imprisonment; when he came to a fair place where he thought to repose himself, they dressed up the tent where he was to leave his head. After he had eaten, Seif-Kan came and brought him the sentence of his death. Dara-Cha seeing him enter, told him he

they pelted them with dirt and filth and clods and stones, so that several persons were knocked down and killed, many were wounded. * * * * Ashes and pots full of urine and ordure were thrown down from the roofs of the houses upon the heads of the Afghans, and many of the bystanders were injured." *Khafī Khan*.

* Vide Bernier's *Travels*, p. 97. "The country people rose upon him everywhere. They hunted him from place to place; till at length he met with his deserts and was slain when he had almost reached the bounderies of his own government." Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii.

was very welcome, and that he was glad to see one of his most faithful servants. Seif-Kan made answer, that indeed he had formerly been one of his servants, but that now he was the slave of Aureng-zeb, who had commanded him to bring him his head. "Must I die then?" said Dara-Cha. "It is the King's command," replied Seif-Kan, "and I am entrusted to execute it." Sepper-Chekour, who lay in anti-chamber of the tent, walking upon this contest, would have seized upon certain weapons which had been taken from him, with an intention to have assisted his father; but he was prevented by those that accompanied Seif-Kan. Dara-Cha would have made some resistance himself, but seeing it was in vain, he only desired time for his devotions, which was granted him. In the mean time Sepper-Chekour was taken from him; and while they held him in a story, a slave took off Dara-Cha's head,* which he carried to Aureng-zeb by Seif-Kan. This bloody tragedy

* Here as in elsewhere, Tavernier only mentions the incidents; while Bernier has given an exhanstive description, but Bernier's description of the tragic end of Dara differs from that of Tavernier in these respects, *viz* :—one Nazer and not Seif Khan was entrusted with the bloody deed; no time was allowed to Dara for prayer or devotion; two or three murderers suddenly fell upon him and the villain Nazer cut his throat.

"His head was forth with carried to the fortress of Aureng-zeb, who presently commanded it to be put in a dish, and that water should be fetched; which when brought, he wiped it off with an handkerchief, and after he had caused the face to be washed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully satisfied that it was the very head of Dara, he fell a weeping, and said these words; 'Ah *Bad Bakt*! Ah unfortunate man! Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Houmayon.'"
Bernier's Travels.

being thus acted, Sepper-Chekour was sent to the castle of Gouakeor, to keep his uncle Morat-Bakche company. As for the wives and daughters * of Dara-Cha, they were allotted an apartment in Aureng-zeb's haram.

CHAPTER V.

How Aureng-zeb caused himself to be declared King ; and of the flight of Sultan-Sujah.

As it is the custom at the performance of that ceremony, for the new King to seat himself upon the throne ; there was not much time required to prepare one, in regard that Cha-jehan before his imprisonment had finished that which the great Tamerlane had begun ; which was the richest and most magnificent that ever was seen. But as the grand Cadi of the empire, and chief of the law was to proclaim the new King, Aureng-zeb found himself opposed by him. For the Cadi told him, that the law of Mahomet and the law of nature equally forbid him to declare him King, while his father lived ; besides, that he had put his elder brother to death, to whom the empire belonged after the death of Cha-jehan their father. This stout resistance of the Cadi did not a little

* Bernier mentions only one wife, who had ended her days before at Lahore, see p. 265 *ante*. Mention has been made only of one daughter who was sent to Shah-Jehan and Princes Jehan-ara (Begam Shaheb) at their request.

perplex Aureng-zeb; and therefore that he might not seem to appear irreligious, he called all the Doctors of the Law together, to whom he represented the incapacity of his father to govern, through age and many infirmities, that troubled him; as for Dara-Cha his brother, he had put him to death because he was a slighter of the law, drank wine, and favoured infidels.* Those reasons, intermixed with threats, caused his Council of Conscience to conclude, that he deserved the empire, and ought to be proclaimed King; though the Cadi obstinately persisted in his first resolution. There was no other remedy therefore, but to remove him from his employment, as a disturber of the publick peace, and to choose another for the honour of the law, and the good of the kingdom. The person who was elected by the Council was soon confirmed by Aureng-zeb; in acknowledgment whereof, he proclaimed him King the twentieth of October, 1660.† This proclamation being made in the Mosque, Aureng-zeb seated himself upon the throne, and received the homages of all the grandees of the kingdom.

However, Aureng-zeb did not think his throne fast enough, nor himself secure in the empire, so long as Sultan Sujah was raising a powerful army in Bengala to release his father. Thereupon he sent a considerable force against him, under the

* Dara was condemned because he was turned *Kafer*, idolater, man without religion. Aurang-zebe, called Dara, a *Kafer* and Suja, a *Rafsy*. He was, however, a *Muslim* at his early age: he renounced the world and became a recluse for a short period!

† Khafi Khan says that Aurang-zebe took his seat on the throne on the 1st Zil-Kada, 1068 A. H. (22nd July, 1658.)

Command of Sultan Mahomed his eldest son; to whom he appointed for his Lieutenant the Emir-Jemla, one of the greatest Captains that ever came out of Persia into India. His great conduct and courage had rendered him a person to be revered by all posterity, had he been faithful to the Princes whom he served. But first he betrayed the King of Golconda,* under whom he advanced his fortune; and next to him Cha-jehan, under whose protection he rose so high, that there was not a nobleman in all India more powerful or richer than he. Otherwise he is both beloved and feared by the soldiers, and perfectly understands the art of war, according to the custom of the country. The two armies engaging several times, the victory sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other; so that Sultan Mahomed finding it likely to be a tedious war, assisted by the counsels of his Lieutenant, resolved to add policy to strength. Thereupon he treats underhand with the officers of his uncle's army, makes them magnificent promises, and so earnestly solicits them to come over to Aureng-zeb's party, whom he called the pillar and protector of Mahomet's law, that he gained the principal, to whom he sent considerable present, to confirm them in their resolutions. This was a mortal blow to Sultan-Sujah, against which he could not provide. For they that adhered to him being a mercenary generation, that serves whoever gives most, finding they had little more to expect from a Prince whose exchequer was empty, resolve to drive a trade with Aureng-zeb, who was master of all the treasure in the kingdom.

* See Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 15-18.

And thus did Aureng-zeb debauch the army of his brother, who in the last battle, seeing himself abandoned by all his soldiers, was forced to save himself by flight, with his wives and children. The traitors ashamed of their treachery, did not so smartly pursue the unfortunate Prince as they might have done, but presently fell to plundering his tents and baggage; which Emir-Jemla, suffered them to do, in recompence of their treason. Sultan-Sujah in the mean time crossing the Ganges with his retinue, retired some time afterwards into the kingdom of Arakan, upon the confines of Bengala, where we shall leave him for a time.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the imprisonment of Sultan-Mahomed, Aureng-zeb's eldest son; and of Sultan Soliman Chekour, eldest son of Dara-Cha.

Though, Aureng-zeb were esteemed a very great politician, and were so indeed, yet he failed in his politicks, to trust his son with such a powerful army, under the conduct of a Captain who had already betrayed two masters. However at length he began to be jealous, lest heaven should inspire his own son to revenge the crimes which he had committed. And upon this, receiving intelligence, that Sultan Mahomed began to be very pensive and melancholy, he then absolutely believed that his son was practising mischief against him; for the better discovery whereof, he

wrote to Emir-Jemla. But the letter unhappily miscarrying, was taken by Sultan Mahomed's guards, and given to the young Prince; who being a person of a quick apprehension, concealed the business from Emir-Jemla; and fearing lest he should receive other orders more precise to take away his life, he resolved to pass the Ganges and throw himself upon his uncle Sultan-Sujah; from whom he expected more mercy than from his father. With this resolution he feigned to go a fishing, and passing the Ganges, with several officers that adhered to him, he went directly to Sultan Sujah's camp,* which lay on the other side of the river; the Sultan having raised a considerable force in the kingdom of Arakan. Sultan Mahomed coming into his uncle's presence, threw himself at his feet, begging his pardon for having taken arms against him, as being forced thereto by his father. Now though Sultan Sujah had reason to believe that Mahomed's coming into his camp, was only a trick of his father, to send his son as a spy to discover his condition; yet being a virtuous and generous Prince, and seeing his nephew prostrate at his feet, he could not but raise him up; after which, embracing him, he assured him of his

* Bernier was informed that the escape of Sultan Mahmoud (Mahammed) altogether made by the artifices of Aurang-zebe. Major Stewart and Colonel Dow on the other hand, give a different version of Mohammad's apostacy and his subsequent desertion from Sultan Sujah through the treachery of Aurang-zebe. Neither Bernier nor that celebrated historian Khafi Khan corroborate it. For an elaborate account of the incidents in connection with this affair, readers are referred to Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii., and Stewart's *History of Bengal*, § vi. pp. 301-308 (*Bangabasi Reprint Series.*)

protection against Aureng-zeb. Some days after, these two Princes made an attempt, and passing Ganges, and fetching a compass thought to have surprized the enemies army, who dreamt not of their coming. They made a vigorous onset, and killed a great number of men. But when they found the whole army had taken the alarm, they contented themselves with the mischief they had done, and repassed the Ganges, for fear of being surrounded by number.

Emir-Jemla had already given intelligence to Aureng-zeb of the flight of his son; which sensibly grieved the father, though he durst not show his anger, for fear of incensing the Emir to betray him, as he had betrayed his father. Thereupon he cunningly wrote to him, that he relied altogether upon his prudence and policy to retrieve his son to his duty; that he was young, and that what he had done, was only out of his heat of youth, and the inconstancy incident to his years. The confidence with Aureng-zeb seemed to put in Emir-Jemla incited the General to use all his endeavour to get Mahomed out of Sultan Sujah's hands. Thereupon he gave the young Prince to understand his father's good intentions toward him, and that he was ready to receive him with open arms, so that he would but make good use of his residence with Sultan-Sujah, which he might pretend was done for the advantage to his father, and for which his father would have rather cause to extol his prudence and affection than otherwise. The young Prince easily suffered himself to be persuaded, and the same way he went to his uncle's, the same way he returned to his father's camp;

Emir-Jemla received him honourably, and with all the demonstrations of joy. He advised him also, to tell his father when he saw him, that he did not go over to Sultan-Sujah, but only with a design to observe what forces he had, and the discipline of his army; and that he intended to have speedily returned, and to have given him an account of what he had done for his service. Presently orders came from Aureng-zeb, that his son should be sent to him; so that Mahomed, whether by constraint, or willingly, set forward for Jehanabat, attended by the guards which Emir-Jemla had appointed. The King having notice of his arrival, his Majesty ordered him a lodging without the palace, and would not permit him to kiss his hands; pretending he was not well.

All this while Soliman Chekour, after he had been betryed by the Raja Roup, had continued under the protection of Nacti-Rani in the province of Serenaguer.* This Prince, as stòut as he was unfortunate, was constrained to lead a savage life among the mountains, for fear of falling into the hands of Aureng-zeb, nor could he with all his forces do him any harm in that place. Besides

* Srinagar is the capital town of modern Kashmere. Owing to its sublime and beautiful scenery, its exceedingly good climate, its beautiful damsels and its health and plenty, Kashmere is known from the olden times as the earthly Paradise. Bernier calls it the "Paradise of Indostàn" and gives an elaborate and authentic description of this terrestrial heaven in which he made a "voyage" with the Great Mogul early in 1665. He says that Kashmere is the capital of the kingdom of the same name. Srinagar, according to Bernier, was a separate principality governed by an independent chief, as also Cashghar and Little Tibet. See *Travels*, p. 374.

Nacti Rani had assured him with an oath, accompanied with all the ceremonies that could make it solemn, and invioable ; that he would rather lose his territodum, than that Aureng-zeb should do the least violence to that protection which he afforded him. This was done up the banks of a river, which passes through his country, where he washed his body, in token of the purity of his soul ; and being thus purified in the water, he made his protestations to Soliman-Chekour, never to forsake him, taking his Gods to witness of the sincerity of his intentions. Upon this, Soliman-Chekour never took any further care, but every day went to divertise himself with hunting. While he gives up himself to his pleasure, Aureng-zeb marches his army toward the mountains, thinking to force Nacti-Rani to surrender Soliman-Chekour into his power. But the Raja with a thousand men being able to defend the avenues of his country against a hundred thousand, Aureng-zeb finding he could do no good, that way, has recourse to policy. He undertakes at first to treat with the Raja, but in vain, for the Raja would not violate his oath ; and his priests assured him besides, that Aureng-zeb should ere long be deposed, and that Soliman-Chekour should reign in his room.

Aureng-zeb thus prevented, resolves to make another kind of war upon him. Thereupon he forbids all commerce between his and the Raja's subjects ; which was very prejudicial to the latter. This caused the people to murmur at the protection which he had given to Soliman-Chekour ; and at length they publicly cried out, that it was to the prejudice of the publick. Their priests

also, thus alarmed, began to doubt the truth of their oracles, and to think it convenient to put another interpretation upon them. But the main thing was, that the Raja Jessomseing* who had betrayed Dara-Cha, wrote privately to Nacti-Rani, that it was for the safety of his person and dominions, to submit to Aureng-zeb; and to surrender his kinsman up into his hands. This advice of Jessomseing put him to a very great plunge; dreading on the one side the breach of his oath; on the other, the revolt of his people. Uncertain what course to take, he consults the Bramins, who gave their opinions that it was his duty rather to preserve his people and his laws, which would be both destroyed, should they fall into the hands of Aureng-zeb, than to keep his faith with a Prince from whom he could never expect any advantage. These consultations being kept private from Soliman-Chekour, his ruin was concluded upon, while he thought himself most secure. Thereupon Nacti-Rani, with a salvo, as he thought to his honour and his conscience, returned for answer to Jessomseing, that he could not consent to betray the Prince; but that Aureng-zeb might take his person, yet preserve his reputation too: in regard that Soliman-Chekour was wont to go a hunting upon certain mountains in his country with a small retinue, and that it would be an

* Bernier says that it was Raja Jay Singh and not Jaswant Sing who was instrumental in securing the person of Soliman by threats and guiles which were brought to bear on the King of Srinagar, and this seems to be correct. Khafi Khan also says that Raja Jay Singh's son Kunwar Ram Singh had seized Soliman Sheko and brought him down to Delhi.

easy thing for him to send a number of soldiers sufficient to apprehend him.

So soon as Jessomseing had received this answer, he gave order to his son to see the business affected as the plot was laid. So that Soliman-Chekour one day going a hunting to the usual place, was snapt by a strong party that lay in ambuscade. The Prince presently apprehended the treason, and defended himself with the assistance of his attendants, who were all slain; he himself slew nine, but at length over-numbered, was taken and carried to Jehanabat. When he came into Aureng-zeb's presence, the King asked him how he did? "As well as a prisoner of yours can do," said he, "who expects no better usage from you, than his father received before." The King bid him not be afraid, that he had no design to put him to death, but only to secure his person. Aureng-zeb after that, demanding of him what was become of all the treasure which he had carried away, the Prince made answer that he had spent a great part in raising soldiers against him to have ruined him, if it had been his good fortune: that a good part was in the hands of Raja Roup, whose avarice and perfidiousness was sufficiently known. And that Nacti-Rani had got the remainder* to deliver him to his enemies, to the prejudice of his word and honour. Aureng-zeb was surprised and touched at the boldness of his nephew; but ambition shutting his eyes, and stifling all thoughts of justice, which the just remorse of conscience

* See Bernier's book, pp. 98-99. Elphinstone thinks that Bernier was present at this melancholy interview. Probably it may be the case, but Bernier has made no such statement.

might excite within him, he gave order that Sultan Mahomet his son, and Soliman-Chekour his nephew should both be committed to the fort of Goualeor* to keep Morat-Bakhae company, which was done the 30th of Jan. 1661.

Sultan Sujah, who was yet alive, but still miserably, was the last thorn in Aureng-zeb's foot; and the person that drew it out for him, and rid him of his last pain, was the King of Arakan, whither the unfortunate Prince was at length forced to retire. Who finding all his hopes to be lost, began to think of a pilgrimage to Mecca, and from thence to go into Persia, and implore a sanctuary under the protection of that Prince. To this purpose he thought he might obtain a vessel from the King of Arakan, or the King of Pegu, to carry him to Mecca; but he was ignorant that neither of those Kings had any vessels, that would live in the main ocean. So that he was constrained to stay with the King of Arakan, an idolater, whose daughter he desired in marriage,† which the King granted, and by whom he had a son. But that which ought to have been the greatest occasion of friendship between the son-in-law and the

* The Gwalior fort served the same functions in India as the Tower of London in England.

† We have consulted in vain several histories to verify the truth of Tavernier's statement, that Sujah was married to a daughter of the King of Arakan. Khafi Khan and Stewart are considered to be the authorities on this point; but they do not even give a hint of this affair which seems improbable on the face of it. Stewart following the track of Colonel Dow, whose *History of Hindostan* is a translation of Feristah's celebrated work, gives more authentic history of Sultan Suja, to which the readers are generally referred.

father-in-law, was the greatest reason of their hatred and falling-out. For some lords of the country, who began to be jealous of Sultan-Sujah, buzzed the King of Arakan in the ear, as if he had an intention by virtue of his marriage, to dispossess him of his throne, and to leave it to his own son. The pagan King easily believed what they said. Nor were these suspicions ill-grounded ;* for Sultan-Sujah having good store of gold and jewels, easily corrupted several Mahumetans that lived in the kingdom of Arakan, and with those and about two hundred men more that had followed him after the rout of his army, he undertook a most bold enterprize, which was yet a mark rather of despair than courage. He appointed a day to those of his party to force the palace, and after they had put all the royal family to the sword, to proclaim him King of Arakan. But this plot being discovered the day it should have been executed, Sultan-Sujah, and Sultan-Bangue,† his son, had no other way to save themselves, but by flight into the kingdom of Pegu. But their way lying over mountains almost impassable, and through thick forests full of tigers and lions, and being also closely pursued, their flight availed them

* Stewart, however, says that " the story was in the highest degree improbable," *History of Bengal*, p. 315. Bernier says :— " yet notwithstanding, as I was informed, and by what I could learn from many Mahumetans, and Portugals, and Hollanders, that then were there present, the thing was feasible enough." *Travels*, p. 103.

† Bernier also gives the same account with a little variation here and there ; but Stewart gives a different account. Khafi Khan, Dow and Stewart do not mention the name of Suja's son. In *Alumgir Namah* his name has been mentioned as Sultan Jain-ul-Abidin.

little or nothing. Sultan Bangue however being behind, to keep the pursuers in play while his father and his family gained ground, stoutly defended himself against the first assailants, but at length being overpowered by number, he was taken together with his two little brothers, his mother and his sisters ; who were all put in prison, where they were very ill-used. But some time after, the King having a desire to marry the eldest sister* of Sultan Bangue, they had a little more liberty allowed them. However they enjoyed it not long, for the young Prince being of a turbulent and ambitious spirit, plotted new treasons against the King, which being discovered, the King immediately caused the whole family to be put to death, not sparing the young Princess his wife,† though she were big with child.

As for Sultan-Sujah, who was foremost among those that fled, it is more generally thought that either he was slain by the soldiers who were sent to apprehend him, or that he was torn in pieces by the tigers and lions; of which those forests are full.‡

* So also Bernier. Stewarts says that the King forcibly married the third daughter, who, however, did not survive her disgrace.

† See the foot-note above. It seems quite unnatural that she should be murdered when she was *en ciente*. Bernier says that every body was put to death except the daughter whom the Raja had married. The other two Princesses "are said to have put an end to their misfortunes by poison." (Stewart) Pyari Banu who was celebrated in Bengal for her wit and beauty, attempted to stab the King, but failing in the attempt, she fell by her own hand.

‡ No historian is positively certain about the fate of Sultan

CHAPTER VII.

Of the beginning of Aureng-zeb's reign, and the death of Cha-jehan his father.

Some days before he ascended the throne, he sent to his father to send him some of his jewels, to the end he might appear before his people with the same magnificence as his predecessors had done. Cha-jehan taking this request of his sons for an affront put upon him in prison, fell into such a rage that he continued mad for some days, and had like to have died upon it. In the excess of his vexation he called several times for a mortar and a pestle, threatening to beat all his jewels to powder* before his son should have them.

Suja and his family. Col. Dow gives a very sad and pathetic account, followed by Stewart, who says that Suja was taken prisoner and was drowned into a river. Bernier is not certain about Suja being drowned or put to death. He gives many conflicting accounts and rumours concerning the sad end of Suja; see the *Travels*, pp. 104-105. Stewart says that Suja's eldest son who was sixteen years of age, with his infant brother had been committed to a watery grave. Bernier says, "Sultan Banque, and his brothers, had their heads cut off with blunt axes; and the women were mured up, where they dyed of hunger and misery." It is said that when the melancholy intelligence was communicated to Shah Jehan, he exclaimed, "Could not the cursed infidel have left one son of Sujah alive to avenge the wrongs of his grand-father?"

* Bernier says that Aurangzebe asked for those jewels in order to finish a piece of work which he caused to be added to to a famous throne. See Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 115-16 and compare Dow's *History of Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 373 with Tavernier's and Bernier's account.

But Begum-Sahéb, his eldest daughter, never forsook him, throwing herself at his feet, and by virtue of that criminal power which she had over him, as being both his daughter and his wife, kept him from using that extremity ; more out of a design to preserve the jewels for herself, than for her brother, to whom she had always been a mortal enemy. For this reason, when Aureng-zeb ascended the throne, he had no more than one jewel upon his bonnet : this bonnet cannot be called a crown ; and by consequence neither can the ceremony be called a Coronation.

At the time that Aureng-zeb took possession of the throne, he would not eat any wheaten-bread, nor meat, nor fish, but fed upon barley-bread, herbs and sweet-meats, which was a kind of penance that he imposed upon himself for so many crimes.

When Aureng-zeb was settled in the empire, several ambassadors* came to Jehanabat to congratulate him, on the behalf of the Kings their masters, as from the King of the Usbeck Tartars, the Sheriff of Mecca, the Prince of Balsara, and the Kings of Arabia Felix and Ethiopia. The Hollanders also sent Menheir Adrican,† Chief of their Factory in Surat, who was kindly received, and first dispatched. For it is a piece of state, to keep the ambassadors a good while at court befor they have audience. All these ambassadors presented Aureng-zeb with the rarities of their country ; who to get himself a good name in Asia, sent them away very well satisfied.

* Vide Bernier's *Travels*, p. 106 *segg.*

† M. De Van Adrichem was the chief of the Dutch Factory at Surat, 1662-65. For his embassy, see Bernier's *Travels*, p. 116.

Some months before the death of Cha-jehan Aureng-zeb sent an ambassador into Persia, who was magnificently received. For a month together he was nothing but feasted and caressed with all manner of divertisements. The day that he was to make his present from the Great Mogul, the King of Persia sate upon his throne in a most magnificent habit ; and having received the ambassador's present, he presently divided it in contempt among the officers of his house ; only keeping for himself a diamond that weighed sixty carats. Some few days after he called for the ambassador, and after some discourse, he asked him if he were of the sect of the Turks ? To which the ambassador returning an answer, and letting some words fall against Haly, the King asked him what his name was ? He replied that Cha-jehan had given him the name of Baubec-Kan,* that is, Lord of a Free heart ; and had honoured him with one of the chief employments at court. "Then tho'art a villain," replied the King of Persia, with an angry countenance, "to desert thy sovereign in his necessity, having received so many favours from him, and to serve a tyrant, that keeps his father in prison, and has massacred all his brothers. How dares he," pursued the King, "take upon him the arrogant title of Alem-guir Aureng-Sha, or King of all the World, who never conquered any thing, but possesses all he has by treachery and parricide ? Hast thou been one of those that counselled him to shed so much blood, to be the executioner of his brothers,

* Bernier and Dow call him Terbiet Khan. For an account of his humiliation, by Shah Abbas the King of Persia, see Dow's *Hindostan*, vol. iii, pp. 401-402.

and to keep his father in prison? Thou art not worthy to wear a beard;" and with that immediately caused it to be shaved off; which is the greatest indignity that can be put upon a man in that country. Shortly after he commanded the ambassador to return home, sending along with him for a present to Aureng-zeb, an hundred and fifty beautiful horses, with a great quantity of gold and silver-carpets, cloth of gold, rich shashes, and other stuffs, to a vast value. When Baubec-Kan was come back to Agra, where the King was then, Aureng-zeb incensed at the affront which the Sophi of Persia had given him in the person of his ambassador, he took the horses and sent some of them into the great piazza, others to the corners of the streets, causing it to be proclaimed that the followers of Haly could not ride those horses without being *Nigss*, that is to say, unclean, as coming from a King that did not obey the true law. After that he caused the horses to be killed, and all the rest of the present to be burnt; uttering many reproachful words against the King of Persia, with whom he was mortally offended.

At length Cha-jehan happening to die toward the end of the year 1666. Aureng-zeb found himself rid of an object that every hour reproached his tyranny; and began to enjoy himself with more delight. Soon after he received his sister Begum-Sahab into favour, restoring to her all her governments, and giving her the name of Cha-Begum, that is to say, Princess Queen. The truth is, she is a woman of prodigious parts, and able to govern the whole empire. And had her father and brothers taken her counsel at the beginning

of the war, Aureng-zeb had never been King. As for Rauchenara-Begum his sister, she had always taken his side, and when she heard he had taken arms, she sent him all the gold and silver she could procure. In recompense whereof he promised her, when he came to be King, to give her the title of Cha-Begum, and that she should sit upon a throne: in all which he was as good as his word; and they continued very loving together till I was last at Jehanabat: but then they were not so good friends, upon this occasion. The Princess having cunningly stolen into her apartment a handsome young fellow,* could not so privately let him out again after she had quite tired him; but the King was advertized thereof. Thereupon the Princess to prevent the shame and reproach, ran to the King in a great pretended

* Bernier on the authority of an old Portuguese woman says that Princess Raushenara had two young gallants. The old woman, he says, who had a long while been slave to the seraglio, and went in and out at pleasure, had told him the following story. The Princess had hidden her gallant within the walls of the harem. After she had tired of him, she commanded her women to convey him secretly at night and help him to escape through some gardens. But the women fearing lest they might be detected, or for some other reasons not known, left him to his fate. The gallant was then caught and brought before Aurangzebe, who questioned him closely but could draw out from him nothing than that he had entered the harem by scaling the garden wall. Aurangzebe commanded him to get out through the same way by which he had entered. But strangely enough, the eunuchs had cast him down from the top of the walls to the bottom. The Portuguese woman assured Bernier that the other gallant was likewise found in the garden, taken before Aurangzebe and was commanded likewise, to be conveyed through the same garden.

fright and told him that there was a man got into the haram, even to her very chamber, and that his intention was certainly either to have killed or robbed her : that such a thing was never seen ; that it concerned the safety of his royal person, and that he would do well to punish severely the eunuchs that kept guard that night. Presently the King ran in person with a great number of eunuchs, so that the poor young man had no way to escape but by leaping out of a window into the river that runs by the palace-walls ; whereupon a world of people ran out to seize him ; the King commanding them to do him no harm, but to carry him to the officer of Justice : however he has not been heard of ever since that time.

CHAPTER·VIII.

Of the preparations against the feast of the Great Mogul, when he is weighed solemnly every year. Of the richness of his thrones, and the magnificence of his court.

This great feast begins the fifth of November, and lasts five days. They usually weigh the King at the time of his birth ; and if he weighs more than he did the year before, there is great rejoicing. When he is weighed he seats himself upon the richest of his thrones ; and then all the grandees of the kingdom come to congratulate and present him. The ladies of the court send him their presents also, as likewise do the governors of provinces, and others in great employments. The

presents consist of jewels, tissues, carpets and other stuffs ; besides camels, elephants, horses, and indeed any thing that is rare and of value. It is said he receives that day thirty millions of livres.*

They begin to prepare for this feast the seventh of September, about two months before it begins. The first thing they do, is to cover the two great courts overhead, from the middle of each court to the hall, which is open upon three sides. The pavilions that cover these two void places, are of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, and so weighty, that the posts which sustain them are as big as the mast of a ship ; some thirty, some forty foot high. There are thirty-eight of these posts to uphold the tent in the first court ; and those next the hall, are plated with gold as thick a ducket. The rest are plated with silver of the same thickness. The cords are of cotton of diverse colours ; some of them as big as a good cable.

The first court is surrounded with porticoes and little chambers, where the Omrahs keep guard. For every eight days the Omrahs relieve the guard ; and during those eight days, the Omrah who is upon the guard, has a dish of meat out of the King's kitchen. When he sees it coming afar off, he makes three obeisances, laying his hand three

* This is a traditional and time-honoured custom in India. The Hindu Kings used to celebrate it, strictly obeying the tenets of their religion. It is difficult to say how this custom was introduced in the Mogul Court. Abul Fazl in his *Ayeeen-i-Akbari* (vol. i. pp. 266-66) gives an exhaustive account of this ceremony. See also the graphic description in Bernier's *Travels*, p. 257 *et seq.*

times upon the ground, and three times upon his head, crying out at the same time, God preserve the King's health, give him long life and victory over his enemies. They take it for a great honour to guard the King; and when they go upon the guard, they put on all their most sumptuous apparel; and their horses, camels, and elephants are all richly adorned. Some of the camels carry a small piece of ordnance, with a man behind to shoot it off. The meanest of these Omrahs commands a thousand horse; but if he be a prince of the blood, he commands six thousand.

The Great Mogul has seven thrones, some set all over with diamonds; others with rubies, emeralds, and pearls.

The largest throne, which is set up in the hall of the first court, is in form like one of our field-beds, six foot long, and four broad. The cushion at the back is round like a bolster; the cushions on the sides are flat.

I counted about a hundred and eight pale rubies in collets, about this throne, the least whereof weighed a hundred carats; but there are some that weigh two hundred emeralds I counted about a hundred and sixty, that weighed some threescore, some thirty carats.*

The under-part, of the canopy is all embroidered with pearls and diamonds, with a fringe of

* Bernier tells us that he could neither give the exact number of precious stones nor their quality and value, because "it is not permitted," he says, "to come near enough to count them, and to judge their water and purity." It is, however, strange enough to observe that not only M. Tavernier could count them but also he could know their exact weight.

pearls round about. Upon the top of the canopy, which is made like an arch with four panes, stands a peacock,* with his tail spread, consisting all of sapphires, and other proper coloured stones; the body is of beaten gold, encased with several jewels; and a great ruby upon his breast, at which hangs a pearl, that weighs fifty carats. On each side of the peacock stand two nose-gays, as high as the bird, consisting of several sorts of flowers, all of beaten gold enameled. When the King seats himself upon the throne, there is a transparent jewel, with a diamond appendant, of eighty or ninety carats, encompassed with rubies and emeralds, so hung that it is always in his eye. The twelve pillars also that uphold the canopy, are set with rows of fair pearl, round, and of an excellent water, that weigh from six to ten carats a piece. At the distance of four feet, upon each side of the throne, are placed two parasols, or umbrellas, the handles whereof are about eight foot high, covered with diamonds; the parasols themselves are of crimson velvet, embroidered and fringed with pearls.

This is the famous throne which Tamerlane began, and Cha-jehan finished; which is really reported

* It is almost clear from Bernier's letter to a French gentleman written from Delhi on 1st July, 1663, that he saw this celebrated Imperial Peacock Throne at the Great Mogul's court. Tavernier did even more,—he counted the number of jewels and ascertained their worth and weight. But a great confusion arises from the descriptions of these two eye-witnesses. One's description materially differs from the other's; e. g., Bernier says that the throne was devised upon two peacocks; but Tavernier assures us that there was only one peacock. Compare Bernier's description (*Travels*), pp. 251-52.

to have cost a hundred and sixty millions, and five hundred-thousand livres of our money.*

Behind this stately and magnificent throne there is another less, in the form of a tub, where the King bathes himself;† it is an oval, seven foot long, and five broad. The outside whereof shines all over with diamonds and pearls; but there is no canopy over it.

Coming into the first court, on the right hand, you see a particular tent, where during all the feast, the morrice-dancers are appointed to make sport, while the King sits upon his throne. On the left hand is another tent, appointed from the principal officers of the army and household.

In the same court, while the King sits upon his throne, are to be seen thirty horses, fifteen upon one side, and fifteen upon the other, lead by two men. Their bridles are very short, but for the most part enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, the bits whereof are of pure gold. Every horse wears between his ears a rich plume of feathers, with a little cushion upon his back, tied on with a surcingle, both being embroidered with gold; and about his neck hung some fair jewel, which was either a diamond, a ruby, or an emerald. The worst of those horses cost three thousand, some five thousand crowns; and

* According to Bernier's estimate the value of this throne is about four *krors* or 40 millions of rupees *i. e.*, about 60 millions of French livres. In another place (p. 204) he supposes that the value of the throne is estimated at about three *krors* of rupees.

† This is called *Gosal Khana*. See Bernier, p. 248. *seqq.* The description is interesting as well as instructive.

some there were, that were never bought under ten thousand. The young Prince, who was between seven and eight years old, rode upon a horse no higher than a good big greyhound, but very well shaped.

About an hour after the King has been sitting upon his throne, seven stout elephants bred up for war, are brought out. One of those elephants has his seat fixed upon his back, if the King should have a mind to ride out. The others are covered with cloths richly embroidered, with chains of gold and silver about their necks; and there are four that carry the King's standard upon their cruppers, fastened to a half-pike, which a man seated on purpose close by, holds upright with his hand. These elephants are brought within fifty paces of the throne, and when they come before the King, they make their obeisances* to him, laying their trunks to the ground, and then lifting them up above their heads three times; every time he makes a great cry, and then turning his back to the King, one of the leaders turns up the cloth, that the King may see he is in good case. There belongs also to every one a cord, which is put round his body, to shew how much he is grown since the last year. The first of these elephants, which the King most esteems, is a great furious creature, that has five hundred roupies allowed him every month. He is fed with good victuals, and a great quantity of sucre, and they give him aqua-vita to drink. When the King

* Bernier says that the elephants were taught to make *Taslim* to the spectators.

rides forth upon his elephant, the Omrahs follow on horseback. And when he rides on horseback, the Omrahs follow him on foot.

After the King has seen his elephants, he rises up, and goes into his harem through a little oval door behind the throne.

The five other thrones are set up in another magnificent hall in another court, all covered over with diamonds, without any coloured stone.

When the King has stayed about half an hour, he comes out again, attended by three or four eunuchs, and seats himself in the other hall, upon the middlemost of the five thrones, where the Omrahs come, as long as the five days of the festival last, and make their presents to him.

CHAPTER IX.

Some other observations upon the court of the Great Mogul.

After Aureng-zeb had settled himself in the empire, which he usurped from his father and his brothers, he imposed upon himself a very severe penance, eating nothing but pulse and sweet-meats, which has made him very meagre and lean. All the time the comet lasted in the year 1665, which appeared very great in the Indies, where I then was, Aureng-zeb drank nothing but water, and eat nothing but bread made of millet; which so impaired his health, that it had like to have cost him his life. Besides, he always lay upon the

ground, only with a tiger's skin under him ; since which time he has never been perfectly well.

I saw him drink three several times, while he sat upon his throne ; to which purpose he had brought him a large cup of crystal of the rock, round and all of a piece, with a gold cover, enriched with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, the foot thereof being of the same. But no persons see the King eat, only his wives and his eunuchs. And it is but very rarely that he goes to dine or sup with any of his subjects. When I was last in India, Giafer-Khan, who was his grand vizier, and his uncle by marriage of his wife, invited the King to see a new palace which he was building, who went accordingly, and it was the greatest honour his Majesty could do him ; in retaliation whereof, Giafer-Khan, and his wife presented him with jewels, elephants, camels, horses, and other things, to the value of a million and fifty thousand livres of our money. For Giafer-Khan's wife is the most magnificent and liberal woman in all India, and spends more herself than all the King's wives and daughters, which makes her husband in debt, though he be almost lord of all the empire.

When the King is carried in his *Palleki* to the Mosque, one of his sons follows him, a-horseback, and all his Omrahs and officers of his household come behind him a-foot. Those that are Mahumetans stay for him at the top of the ascent to the Mosque, and when he is ready to come out, they march before him to the gate of his palace. Eight elephants always go before the King, to every one of which belong two men ; one to lead

the elephant, and the other, who sits upon his back, carries a standard fixed to a half-pike. The other four carry seats or thrones upon their backs, the one square, the other round; one covered, the other inclosed with glass of several fashions. When the King goes abroad, he has usually five or six hundred men to attend him for his guard, armed every one with a kind of an half-pike. To the heads of their pikes they tie two squibs cross-wise, about a foot long, and as big as a man's arm, which will carry the half-pike five hundred paces. The King is also attended by three or four hundred musqueteers; but they are very cowards, and hardly know how to shoot off their pieces. He has also a certain number of cavalry, which are soldiers much alike. A hundred Europeans might well beat a thousand Indians; but they would hardly accustom themselves to live such sober lives. For as well the horse as the infantry will live upon meal kneaded with water and brown sugar; but in the evening, when they have convenience, they make *Quichery*, which is rice boiled in water and salt, with a grain, so called. When they eat it, they stir it with the ends of their fingers in melted butter, which is the usual food of the soldiers and poor people. Beside, the heat would kill our soldiers, who would never be able to endure the sun all the day long, as the Indians do. By the way, give me leave to tell you, that the country people have no other clothing than a piece of linen to hide their secret parts, being miserable poor; for if their governors know they have any thing about them, they seize it either as their right, or

by force. There are some provinces in India that lie waste, the natives being forced to fly, by reason of the cruelty of their Governors. Under the pretence of being Mahumetans they persecute the poor idolaters beyond all measure ; and if any one of them embrace Mahumetism, it is only because they would not work any longer. For they turn soldiers or *Faquirs*, who are a sort of people that profess a renunciation of the world and live upon alms, but are indeed very rascals. They reckon that there are in India 800,000 of these Mahumetan *Faquirs*, and twelve hundred-thousand idolaters.

Once in fifteen days the King goes a-hunting, mounted upon his elephant, and so continues during the chase. All the game he takes is brought within musket-shot of his elephants. Which consists generally of lions, tigers, harts, and wild-goats. For they will not meddle with boars, as being Mahumetans. When he returns home, he puts himself into his *Palleki*, and goes in the same order, and with the same guard, as when he returns from the Mosque, saving that when he goes a-hunting, he is attended with three or four hundred horsemen, that ride without any discipline in the world.

As for the Princesses, as well the wives, daughters and sisters of the King, they never stir out of the palace, unless it be to spend a few days in the country for their pleasure. Some of them go abroad, but very rarely, to visit some great noblemen's wives, as the wife of Giafer-Kan, who is the King's aunt. But that is only by particular leave of the King. And then it is not

the custom as in Persia, where the ladies make their visits only by night, and with a great number of eunuchs, who clear the streets of all people they meet. For in the Mogul's court, they usually go out about nine in the morning, with only three or four eunuchs, and ten or twelve slaves, which are instead of maids of honour.

The Princesses are carried in *Pallekis* covered over with embroidered tapestry, and a little coach to hold one single person that follows the *Pallcki*, drawn by two men, the wheels not being above a foot in diameter. The reason why they carry that coach along with them, is, because that when the Princesses arrive at the house where they intend to alight, the men that carry the *Palleki*, not being permitted to go any farther than the first gate, they then take their coaches, and are drawn by their female-slaves to the women's apartment. I have also observed, that in all the houses of great noblemen, the women's apartment is at the farther end of all. So that you must cross two or three great courts, and a garden or two, before you can come at it.

When the Princesses are married to any of the court-grandeess, they become absolute mistresses of their husbands; so that if they study not to please them, and do not as they would have them, in regard of their free access to the King they overrule the King many times to their prejudice, even to the turning them out of their employments.

As it is a custom that the first-born always is heir to the throne, though he be the son of a slave, so soon as the Princesses of the King's harem perceive that there is any one among them

big with child, they use all the artifices imaginable to make them miscarry. Insomuch that being at Patna in the year 1666, Cha-est-Kan's surgeon assured me, that the wife of Cha-est-Kan had procured the miscarrying of eight women, because she would suffer no other women's children but her own.

CHAPTER X.

Of the commodities which are brought as well out of the dominions of the Great Mogul, as out of the kingdom of Golconda and Visapour, and other neighbouring territories.

It will be necessary for the reader to take notice what I have already said concerning the weights and measures in use among the Indians, where I spoke concerning the *Mines*, and the *Serre*. Now for the *Cobit*.

The Cobit is a measure for all commodities that are measured by the ell, of which there are several sorts, as in Europe there are several sorts of ells. The Cobit is divided into 24 Tasots : and in regard the greatest part of the commodities of India are uttered at Surat, I have given you a description in the margin of the fourth part of a Surat-Cobit, divided into six Tasots.

Of their Silk.

Kasembasar, a village in the kingdom of Bengala, sends abroad every year two and twenty thousand

bales of silk ; every bale weighing a hundred pound. The two and twenty bales make two millions and two-hundred-thousand pound, at sixteen ounces to the pound. The Hollanders usually carry away six or seven-thousand bales, and would carry away more, did not the merchants of Tartary, and the Mogul's empire oppose them : for they buy up as much as the Hollander ; the rest the natives keep to make their stuffs. This silk is all brought into the kingdom of Guzerat, the greatest part whereof comes to Amadabat, and to Surat, where it is wrought up.

In the first place they make carpets of silk and gold, others of silk and silver, others all of silk : for the worsted carpets are made at Vettapour, some twelve leagues from Agra.

In the second place they make satins with streaks of gold and silver ; others plain ; with taffata's after the same fashion.

In the third place they make *Patoles*, which are a sort of silk-stuff very thin, but painted with all sorts of flowers, the manufacture whereof is at Amadabat. They cost from eight roupies to forty the piece. This is a commodity wherein the Dutch will not suffer any one of the Hollanders to trade in particular : for they transport it to the Philippine-Islands, to the islands of Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and other neighbouring islands.

The raw-silk of Kasembasar yellowish, as are all the raw-silks that come from Persia and Sicily ; but the natives of Kasembasar have a way to whiten it, with a lye made of the ashes of a tree which they call Adam's fig-tree ; which makes

it as white as the Palestine-silk. The Hollanders send away all their merchandize which they fetch out of Bengala, by water, through a great canal that runs from Kasembasar into Ganges, for fifteen leagues together; from whence it is as far by water down the Ganges to Ouguely, where they laid their ships.

Of the Calicuts : and first of the painted Calicuts, called " Chites."

Chites or painted Calicuts, which they call *Cal-mendar*, that is to say, done with a pencil, are made in the kingdom of Golconda; and particularly about Maslipatan. But there is made so little, that though a man should employ all the workmen that understand the art of weaving Calicuts, he would hardly find enough to make three bales.

The Chites which are made in the empire of the Great Mogul are all printed; and nothing so beautiful, neither for the figures nor the fineness of the linen. Those which are made at Labor, are the coarsest, and consequently the cheapest of all. They are sold by Corges, every Corge consisting of twenty pieces, which cost from 16 to 30 roupies.

The Chites which are made at Seronge, are sold from 20 to 50 roupies the Corge, or thereabouts.

These Chites serve for coverlets for beds, for *Sofraes* or table-cloths after the country-fashion, pillowbears, handkerchiefs, but more especially for waistcoats as well for men as women in Persia.

The fine Calicut-Chites are made at Brampour; and are used for handkerchiefs by those that snuff tobacco.

The women also, over all Asia, make veils of these Calicuts, to wear over their heads, and about their shoulders, which veils are called *Ormis*.

The Bastaes or Calicuts painted red, blue, and black, are carried white to Agra, and Amadabat, in regard those cities are nearest to the places where the indigo is made that is used in colouring. They cost from two roupies to 30 or 40 a-piece, according to the fineness and the quantity of gold at the ends, and sometimes upon the sides. The Indians have a way to dip some of these Calicuts in a certain water that makes them look like watered-chamlet, which adds also to the price.

That sort which is sold for two roupies, and so onward till ye come to twelve, is transported to the coast of Melinda, and it is the greatest trade the Governour of Mozambique drives, who sells them to the Cafres, that vend them again among the Abyssins, and into the kingdom of Saba : for those people not understanding the use of soap, need no more but only to wash these Calicuts in water. That sort which is valued from 12 roupies upward, is transported to the Philippine-Islands, the islands of Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and other adjacent places. Where the women wear no other clothes, than a single piece of this Calicut. One part whereof, without cutting it, serves for a petticoat ; the other they wind about their stomachs and their heads.

White Calicuts.

White Calicuts come partly from Agra, and about Lahor, part from Bengala : some from Brouda, Baroche, Renonsari, and other places.

They are brought out of the loom to Renonsari, and Baroche, where they are whitened by reason of the convenience of their meadows, and the great store of lemons, that grow thereabouts. For the Calicuts are never so white as they should be, till they are dipped in lemon-water.

The Calicuts that come from Agra, Lahor, and Bengala, are sold by the Corge, and they are of several prices, from seventeen roupies to three or four hundred, as the merchant will have them woven.

The Calicuts that come from Renonsari, and Baroche, are one and twenty cubits long, new out of the loom ; but in the whitening they shrunk to twenty cubits.

Those of Brouda twenty cubits from the loom and shrink in the whitening to nineteen and a half.

All the Calicuts or *Baftas* that come from these three cities, are of two sorts : for some are broad, some are narrow. The narrow are those I have already mentioned, the prices whereof are various, from two Mamoudis to six.

The broad *Baftas* are a cubit, and one third part wide ; the whole piece twenty cubits long. The usual price of them is from five Mamoudis to twelve : but a merchant being upon the place, may cause them to be made much more large and fine, till they are worth five-hundred Mamoudis a-piece. I saw two pieces sold for a thousand Mamoudis.

The English bought one, and the Hollanders another, each piece containing eight and twenty cubits.

Mahamed Alibeg returning into Persia out of

India, where he had been ambassador, presented Cha-sef the second with a cocoanut, about the bigness of an ostrich-egg, all beset with pearls: and when it was opened there was taken out of it a turbant that had sixty cubits of Calicut in length to make it, the cloth being so fine, that you could hardly feel it in your hand. For they will spin their thread so fine, that the eye can hardly discern it, or at least it seems to be but a cobweb.

Twisted-cotton.

Cotton twisted and untwisted comes from the provinces of Brampour and Guzerat. Untwisted cotton is never transported into Europe, being too cumbersome, and of little value; only they send it to Ormus, Balsara, and sometimes to the Philippine-Islands, and the islands of Sinde. As for the twisted cottons, the English and Hollanders transport a good quantity, not of the finest, but of that sort which is prized from fifteen to fifty Mamoudies: It serves for wicks for candles, for packsaddles, and for the ground of silk-stuffs.

Indigo.

Indigo comes from several parts of the great Mogul's empire; and according to the diversity of the places it differs in quality, and consequently in price.

In the first place, it comes from the territories of Biana, Indoua, and Corsa, a day or two's journey from Agra: which is esteemed the best of all. It is made also eight days journey from Surat, in a village called Sarquëss, two leagues

distance from Amadabat. Here the flat indigo is made. There is also indigo little inferior in goodness and price, which comes from the King of Golconda's territories. The *Mein* of Surat, which contains 42 *Serres*, or 34 and a half of our pounds, is valued from 15 to 20 roupies. They make as good as this at Baroche. That which is made up about Agra is made up in half balls, and is the most sought for in all India. It is sold by the *Mein*, which in those places contains 60 *Serres*, or 51 and three quarters of our pounds. The usual price is from 36 to 40 roupies. There grows also indigo some 36 leagues from Brampour, about a great village called Raout, and round about the neighbouring towns in the road to Surat: of which the natives usually make above a hundred-thousand roupies.

There comes indigo also from Bengala, which the Holland-Company transports for Maslipatan. But they buy this indigo, and that of Brampour and Amadabat, cheaper by twenty-four in the hundred, than that of Agra.

Indigo is made of an herb which they sow every year after the rains are over: which when it is grown up, is very like our hemp. They cut it three times a year; first when it is about two or three foot high; and they cut it within half a foot of the ground; the first cutting far exceeds the two latter. The second cutting is worse than the first by ten or twelve in the hundred, and the third worse than the second by twelve in the hundred. The difference is found by breaking a piece of the paste, and observing the colour. The colour of that indigo which is made of the first cutting, is a

violet-blue, but more brisk and lively than the two others: and that which is made of the second is more lively than the third.

When they have cut the herb, they throw it unto pits which they make with lime, which becomes so hard, that you would judge it to be one entire piece of marble. They are generally four score or a hundred paces in circuit; and being half full of water, they fill them quite up with the herb. Then they bruise and jumble it in the water till the leaf, for the stalk is worth nothing, become like a kind of thick mud. This being done, they let it settle for some days; and when the settling is all at the bottom, and the water clear above, they let out all the water. When the water is as drained out, they fill several baskets with this slime, and in a plain field you shall see several men at work, every one at his own basket, making up little pieces of indigo flat at the bottom, at the top sharp like an egg. Though at Amadabat they make their pieces quite flat like a small cake. Here you are to take particular notice, that the merchants, because they would not pay custom for an unnecessary weight, before they transport their indigo out of Asia into Europe, are very careful to cause it to be sifted, to separate the dust from it; which they sell afterwards to the natives of the country to dye their Calicuts. They that sift this indigo must be careful to keep a linen-cloth before their faces, and that their nostrils be well-stopt, leaving only two little holes for their eyes. Besides, they must every half hour be sure to drink milk, which is a great preservative against the piercing quality of the

dust. Yet notwithstanding all this caution, they that have sifted indigo for nine or ten days, shall spit nothing but blue for a good while together. Once I laid an egg in the morning among the sifters, and when I came to break it in the evening it was all blue within.

As they take the paste out of the baskets with their fingers dipt in oil, and make it into lumps, or cakes they lay them in the sun to dry. Which is the reason that when the merchants buy indigo, they burn some pieces of it, to try whether there be any dust among it. For the natives who take the paste out of the baskets to make it into lumps, lay it in the sand, which mixes with the paste, and fouls it. But when the merchants burn it, the indigo turns to ashes, and the sand remains. The Governors do what they can to make the natives leave their knavery; but notwithstanding all their care, there will be some deceit.

Saltpetre.

Great store of saltpetre comes from Agra and Patna; but the refined costs three times more than that which is not. The Hollanders have set up a warehouse fourteen leagues above Patna, and when their saltpetre is refined, they transport it by water by Ogueli. A *Mein* of refined saltpetre is worth seven mamoudies.

Spice.

Cardamom, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, nutmeg-flowers, cloves and cinnamon, are all the different sorts of spices known to us. I put cardamom, and ginger in the first place because that cardamom

grows in the territories of Visapour, and ginger in the dominions of the Great Mogul. And as for other spices, they are brought from other foreign parts to Surat, which is the grand mart.

Cardamom is the most excellent of all other spices, but it is very scarce; and in regard there is no great store in the place where it grows, it is only made use of in Asia, at the tables of great Princes. Five hundred pound of cardamoms, are prized from a hundred to a hundred and ten Reals.

Ginger is brought in great quantities from Amadabat, where there grows more than in any other part of Asia; and it is hardly to be imagined how much there is transported candied into foreign parts.

Pepper is of two sorts. There is a sort which is very small, another sort much bigger; both which sorts are distinguished into small and great pepper. The larger sort comes from the coast of Malavare; and Tuticorin and Calicut are the cities where it is brought up. Some of this pepper comes from the territories of the king of Visapour, being vended at Rajapour, a little city in that kingdom. The Hollanders that purchase it of the Malavares, do not give money for it, but several sorts of commodities in exchange; as cotton, opium, vermillion, and quicksilver; and this is the pepper which is brought into Europe. As for the little pepper that comes from Bantam, Aschen, and some other parts toward the east, there is none of it carried out of Asia, where it is spent in vast quantities, especially among the Mahumetans. For there are double the grains of small pepper in one pound,

to what there are of the great pepper ; besides that the great pepper is hotter in the mouth.

The little pepper that comes to Surat, has been sold some years for thirteen or fourteen mamoudies the *Mein* ; and so much I have seen the English give for it, to transport it to Ormus, Balsara, and the Red Sea. As for the great pepper which the Hollanders fetch from the coast of Malavare, five hundred pound in truck brings them in not above thirty-eight Reals ; but by the commodities which they give in barter, they gain cent. per cent.

The nutmeg, the nutmeg-flower, the clove, and cinnamon, are the only spices which the Hollanders have in their own hands. The three first come from the Molucca islands ; the fourth, which is cinnamon, from the island of Ceylon.

It is observable of the nutmeg, that the tree which bears it is never planted, which has been confirmed to me by several persons that have lived several years in the country. They related to me, that the nutmeg being ripe, several birds come from the islands toward the south, and devour it whole, but are forced to throw it up again before it be digested. The nutmeg then besmeared with a viscous matter, falling to the ground takes root, and produces a tree, which would never thrive were it planted. This puts me in mind of making one observation upon the Birds of Paradise. These birds being very greedy after nutmegs, come in flights to gorge themselves with the pleasing spice, at the season, like felfares in vintage time ; but the strength of the nutmeg so intoxicates them, that they fall dead drunk to the earth, where the emets in a short time eat off their legs. Hence

it comes, that the Birds of Paradise are said to have no feet; which is not true however, for I have seen three or four that had feet; and a French merchant sent one from Aleppo as a present to Lewis the Thirteenth that had feet; of which the King made great account, as being a very lovely fowl.

But notwithstanding all the Hollanders projects, you may buy cloves at Macassar without purchasing them of the Hollander; in regard the islanders buy them of the Dutch Captains and soldiers, which the Hollanders have in those places where the cloves grow, giving them in exchange rice, and other necessities for the support of life, without which they would starve, being very sadly provided for.

When the natives of Macassar are thus furnished of cloves, they barter them in exchange for such commodities as are brought them; sometimes they give tortoise-shells in exchange, and gold dust; by which the merchant gains six or seven in the hundred, being better than the money of the island, though it be gold, by reason the King oftentimes enhances the value of it. The places where cloves grow, are Amboyna Ellias, Seram, and Bouru.

The islands of Banda also, in number six, *viz.* Nero, Lontour, Poulcay, Roseguin, and Grenapuis, bear nutmegs, in great abundance. The island of Grenapuis is about six leagues in compass, and ends in a sharp point, where there is a continual fire burning out of the earth. The island of Damme, where there grows great store of nutmegs, and very big, was discovered in the year 1647, by Abel Tasman, a Dutch Commander.

The price of cloves and nutmegs, as I have known them sold to the Hollanders at Surat, was as follows.

The *Mein* of Surat contains forty *Serres*, which make thirty-four of our pounds, at sixteen ounces to the pound.

A *Mein* of cloves was sold for a hundred and three mamoudies and a half.

A *Mein* of mace was sold for a hundred and fifty-seven mamoudies and a half.

Nutmegs for fifty-six mamoudies and a half.

Cinnamon comes at present from the island of Ceylon. The tree that bears it is very much like the willow, and has three barks. They never take off but the first and second, which is accounted the best. They never meddle with the third, for should the knife enter that, the tree would die. So that it is an art to take off the cinnamon, which they learn from their youth. The cinnamon spice is much dearer to the Hollanders than people think; for the King of Ceylon, otherwise called King of Candy, from the name of his principal city, being a sworn enemy to the Hollanders, sends his forces with an intention to surprize them, when they gather their cinnamon; so that they are forced to bring seven or eight hundred men together to defend as many more that are at work. Which great expense of theirs very much enhances the price of the cinnamon. There grows upon the cinnamon tree a certain fruit like an olive, though not to be eaten. This the Portugals were wont to put into a caldron of water, together with the tops of the branches, and boiled it till the water was all consumed. When it was cold,

the upper part became a paste like white wax ; of which they made tapers to set up in their Churches, for no sooner were the tapers lighted, but all the Church was perfumed. Formerly the Portugals brought cinnamon out of other countries, belonging to the Rajas about Cochin. But the Hollanders have destroyed all those places, so that the cinnamon is now in their hands. When the Portugals had that coast, the English bought their cinnamon of them, and usually paid for it by the *Mein* fifty mamoudies.

Drugs that are brought to Surat, and brought from other countries, with the price of every one by the Mein.

Salt armoniack, according to the usual price, costs by the *Mein* twenty mamoudies.

Borax, comes unrefined from Amadabat, as does salt armoniack, and costs by the *Mein* thirty-five mamoudies.

Gum-Lack, seven mamoudies and a half.

Gum-Lack washed, ten mamoudies.

Gum-ack in sticks of wax, forty mamoudies.

There are some of these sticks that cost fifty or sixty mamoudies the *Mein*, and more when they mix musk in the gum.

Saffron of Surat, which is good for nothing but for colouring, four mamoudies and a half.

Cumin white, eight mamoudies.

Cumin black, three mamoudies.

Arlet small, three mamoudies.

Frankincense, that comes from the coast of Arabia, three mamoudies.

Myrrh, that which is good, called Mirra Gilet, thirty mamoudies.

Myrrh Bolti, which comes from Arabia, fifteen mamoudies.

Cassia, two mamoudies.

Sugar candy, eighteen mamoudies.

Asutinat, a sort of grain, very hot, one mamoudi.

Annise-seed gross, three mamoudies and a half.

Annise-seed small and hot, one mamoudi and a half.

Oupelote, a root, fourteen mamoudies.

Cointre, five mamoudies.

Auzerout, from Persia, a hundred and twenty mamoudies.

Aloes succotrine, from Arabia, twenty-eight mamoudies.

Licorice, four mamoudies.

Lignum aloes, in great pieces, two hundred mamoudies.

Lignum aloes, in small pieces, four hundred mamoudies.

Vez-Cabouli, a certain root, twelve mamoudies.

There is a sort of lignum aloes very gummy, which comes to, by the mein, four thousand mamoudies.

Gum-lake for the most part comes from Pegu ; yet there is some also brought from Bengala, where it is very dear, by reason the natives fetch that lively scarlet colour out of it, with which they paint their Calicuts. Nevertheless, the Hollanders buy it, and carry it into Persia for the same use of painting. That which remains after the colour is drawn off, is only fit to make sealing

wax That which comes from Pegu is not so dear, though as good for other countries. The difference is only this, that it is not so clean in Pegu, where the pismires foul it, as in Bengala, where it grows in a healthy place, full of shrubs, where those animals cannot so well come at it. The inhabitants of Pegu never make any use of it in painting, being a dull sort of people, that are in nothing at all industrious.

The women of Surat get their livings by cleansing the lake after the scarlet colour is drawn from it. After that they give it what colour they please, and make it up into sticks for sealing wax. The English and Holland Company carry away every year a hundred and fifty chests. The price is about ten sous the pound.

Powdered sugar is brought in great quantities out of the kingdom of Bengala; it causes also a very great trade at Ougeli, Patna, Dacca, and other places. I have been told it for a very great certainty, by several ancient people in Bengala, that sugar being kept thirty years becomes absolute poison, and that there is no venom more dangerous, or that sooner works its effect. Loaf-sugar is also made at Amadabat, where they are perfectly skilled in refining it; for which reason it is called sugar royal. The sugar-loaves usually weigh from eight to ten pound.

Opium is brought from Brampour, a town of good trade between Agra and Surat. The Hollanders buy great quantities, which they truck for their pepper.

Tobacco also grows in abundance round about Brampour; sometimes there has been so much that

the natives have let vast quantities rot upon the ground, for want of gathering.

Coffee grows neither in Persia nor in India, where it is in no request; but the Hollanders drive a great trade in it, transporting it from Ormus into Persia as far as Great Tartary, from Balsara into Caldea, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and other provinces of Turkey. It was first found out by a hermit, whose name was Scheck-Siadeli, about twenty-years ago, before which time it was never heard of in any author either ancient or modern.

Deceits in Silkwares.

Plain silkwares may be altered in length, breadth, and quality. The quality shews itself when they are of an even thread, when the weight is equal, and when there is no cotton thread in the weft.

The Indians not having the art of gilding silver, put into their striped wares threads of pure gold, so that you must count the quantity of gold threads to see whether the silk have its due number. And this also you must observe in your silks woven with silver. As for *Taffatas*, you are only to mind whether the pieces be all of a fineness, and to see by unfolding some of them, that there be nothing within to augment the weight, and then weighing all the pieces by themselves, to see that they all agree.

The colours of those carpets which are made in India, do not last so long as the colour of those which are made in Persia; but for the workmanship it is very lovely. The eye of the broker is to judge of the largeness, beauty, and fineness of those

carpets which are wrought with gold and silver, and whether they be fine and rich. But whether they be carpets, or other stuffs mixed with gold and silver, it behoves the buyer to pull out some of the gold and silver threads, to see whether they be of the right value or no.

Deceits in the white Calicuts.

The deceits usually put upon Calicuts, are in fineness, length, and breadth. Every bale may contain two hundred pieces; among which they will juggle in five or six or ten, less fine, or less white, shorter and narrower than according to the scantling of the bale, which cannot be found out but by examining them piece by piece. The fineness is discerned by the eye, the length and breadth by the measure. But the Indians practise a more cunning way, which is to count the number of threads which ought to be in the breadth, according to the fineness of the scantling. When the number fails, it is either more transparent, more narrow, or more coarse. The difference is sometimes so difficult to be perceived, that there is no way to find it out but by counting the threads. And yet this difference in a great quantity comes to great deal. For it is nothing to cousen a crown or two crowns, in a piece that comes but to fifteen or twenty crowns. Those that whiten these Calicuts, to save charges of a few lemons, will knock the Calicuts excessively upon a stone, which does fine Calicuts a great injury, and lowers the price.

As for their Calicuts dyed blue or black, you must take care that the workmen do not knock them

after they are folded, to make them look sleek ; for many times when they come to be unfolded, you shall find holes in the creases.

As for your painted and printed Calicuts, which are painted and printed as they come out of the loom, the merchant must take care that what he bespeaks be finished before the end of the rains, for the thicker the water is where they are washed, the more lively will the printed and painted colours appear. It is easy to distinguish between the printed and the painted Calicuts ; and between the neatness of the work : but for the fineness and other qualities, they are not so easily discerned ; and therefore the broker must be more careful.

Cheats in Cotton.

The cheat in the weight is twofold. The first, by laying them in a moist place ; and thrusting in the middle of every skein some thing to add to the weight. The second, in not giving good weight when the broker receives it from the workman, or merchant that delivers it.

There is but one cheat in the quality, that is by putting three or four skeins, of a coarser commodity than that which is uppermost, into one mein. Which in a great quantity mounts high ; for there are some cottons that are worth an hundred crowns the mein. These two cheats being often used by the Holland-Company, there is no way but to weigh your commodity in the presence of the Dutch-commander, and his Council, and to examine every mein, skein by skein. When this is done, they who are ordered to be at this

examination, are obliged to fix to every bale a ticket of the weight and quality : for if there be a failure, they who fix the ticket are engaged to make good what is wanting.

Deceits in Indigo.

I have told you, that when the workmen have made up the indigo-paste into lumps, with their fingers dipt in oil, they lay them in the sun a-drying. Now those that have a design to cheat the merchants, dry them in the sand, to the end that the sand sticking to the indigo, should increase the weight. Sometimes they lay up their paste in moist places, which makes it give, and consequently renders it more heavy. But if the Governor of the place discovers the cheat, he makes them severely pay for it : and the best way of discovery is to burn same pieces of indigo, for the sand will remain.

Indian Brokers.

The brokers are as it were the masters of the Indian families ; for they have all goods at their disposal. The workmen choose the most aged and most experienced, who are to endeavor equal advantages for the whole tribe they undertake for every evening that they return from their business, and that, according to the custom of the Indians, who make no suppers, they have eaten some little piece of sweetmeat, and drank a glass of water, the eldest of the tribe meet at the broker's house, who gives them an account of what he has done that day, and then they consult

what he is to do next. Above all things, they caution him to look to his hits, and to cheat, rather than be cheated.

CHAPTER XI.

Of diamonds, and the mines and rivers where they are found ; and first of the author's journey to the mine of Raolconda.

The diamond is the most precious of all stones, and it was in that sort of commodity wherein I most dealt. And therefore to acquire a perfect experience, I went to all the mines ; and to one of the rivers where they are found. To which purpose I travelled to four mines ; of which I will give you a description ; and of one of the rivers where I have also been.

The first of these mines, where I was, is in the territories of the King of Visapour, in the province of Carnatica ; and the place is called Raolconda, five days' journey from Golconda, and eight or nine from Visapour. This mine was discovered not above two-hundred years ago, as I was informed by those of the country.

Round about the place where the diamonds are found, the ground is sandy, full of rocks, much resembling the parts near Fountain-Bleau. There are in the rocks several veins, some half a finger, some a whole finger-wide : and the miners make use of irons with hooks at the end, with which they pick out the earth or sand, which they put

into tubs, and among that earth, they find the diamonds. But because these veins do not run always straight, but sometimes down, sometimes upward, the miners are constrained to break the rock, following always the trace of the veins : when they have opened all the veins, and taken out all the sand, then they wash it two or three times over to look for the diamonds. In this mine it is that they find the cleanest stones, and of the whitest water. But the mischief is, that to fetch the sand out of the rock, they are forced to strike such terrible blows with a great iron-lever, that they flaw the diamond, and make it look like crystal. Which is the reason there are found so many soft stones in this diamond-mine, though they make a great show. If the stone be clean, they only give it a turn or two upon the wheel, not caring to shape it, for fear of losing the weight. If there be any flaws, or any points, or any black or red specks in it, they cut all the stone into fossets ; or if there be only a little flaw, they work it under the ridge of one of the fossets, to hide the defect. Now because a merchant desires rather to have a black speck than a red one ; it is but burning the stone, and the speck becomes black. This trick at length I understood so well, that when I saw any stones in them that came from the mine made into fossets, especially very small ones, I was certain there was either some speck or some flaw in the stone.

There are several diamond-cutters at this mine, but none of them have above one mill, which is of steel. They never cut but one stone at a time upon each mill, casting water continually

upon the mill, to find out the grain of the stone ; which being found they pour in oil, (not sparing for powder of diamonds, though it be very dear,) to make the stone slide the faster ; and they lay on more weight then we do. I have seen them lay upon one stone an hundred and fifty pound of lead. I must confess it was a great stone, which weighed an hundred and three carats, after it was cut ; and the mill was like ours, only the great wheel was turned by four negroes. The Indians are not of the same opinion that we are ; for they do not believe that the weight gives any lustre to the stones. If theirs be not subject to take their lustre, it is because there is always a boy that stands with a thin wooden slice in his hand, and waters the wheel continually with oil and powder of diamonds. Besides, their wheel does not go so fast as ours, because the wooden wheel that turns the steel wheel, is not above three foot in diameter.

They cannot give that lively polishment to stones, as we give to ours in Europe ; and I believe the reason to be, because their wheel does not run so flat as ours. For in regard it is of steel, to rub it upon the emeril, as must be done every four and twenty hours, the tree must be taken off, which can never be put on again, so as to run so flat as it did. Had they the invention of iron-mills, upon which they never use emeril, but only the file, because there is no necessity to take off the tree to file the mill, they might polish their stones better than they do. I have told you they must either rub the mill with emeril, or file it every four and twenty hours. For when

the stone has run for some time, that part of the mill becomes as smooth and bright as glass : so that if you do not rough it again either with emeryl or the file, the powder will not stay ; whereas if the powder stay, there is more work done in an hour than otherwise in two.

Though a diamond be naturally very hard, having a kind of a knot, as you see in wood, the Indian lapidaries will cut the stone, which our European lapidaries find great difficulty to do, and usually will not undertake to perform ; which makes the Indians require something more for the fashion.

As for the government of the mines, they trade very freely, and very faithfully. They pay two per cent. to the King for all that they buy : besides that, he has also a duty from the merchants for leave to dig. The merchant after he has made search with the miners, who know all the places where the diamonds grow, chooses out a place about two hundred paces in compass, where they set at work sometimes fifty, sometimes an hundred miners, as they are in haste of work. And from the day that they begin to work, to the day that they end, the merchants pay to the King two pagods a day ; and four when they employ an hundred men.

These poor people never get above three pagods all the year. long, though they understand their business extremely well ; so that their wages being so small, they make no scruple, when they can handsomely, to hide a stone for their own profit ; and in regard they are quite naked, only for a rag about their privities, sometimes they are so dextrous, as to swallow the stone. The chief of

the merchants who employ these miners showed me one of them, that had cozened him of a stone, and had put it into the corner of his eye, but he took it from the fellow so soon as he had discovered the cheat. To prevent this cozenage, there are twelve or fifteen in fifty, who are engaged to the merchant, that he shall have no injury done him, nor any thefts committed. If by accident they meet with a stone that weighs 14 or 16 carats, they presently carry it to the master of the work, who gives him in recompense the *Sarpo*, which is a piece of Calicut to make him a bonnet, to the value of 25 sous, together with half a pagod in silver, or else a whole pagod when he gives him neither rice nor sugar.

The merchants that come to trade at the mines keep their lodgings; and every morning about ten or eleven o'clock, after they have dined, the masters of the miners bring their diamond to show them. If the stones are large, or that there be so many as amount from two thousand to sixteen thousand crowns, they will leave them with the strange merchant seven or eight days, for the merchants to consider. When the merchant has seen the stones, it becomes him to agree upon the price in a short time. Otherwise the party that owes the stones, takes them away again, and you shall never see the same stones again, unless mixed with others. When the bargain is concluded, the purchaser gives a bill of exchange upon the banker. If you have agreed to pay him in four days, and make him stay longer, you must pay him down one and an half in the hundred for a months interest. Most commonly

when they know the merchant to be sufficient, they will choose to take a Bill of Exchange for Agra, for Golconda, or Visapour, but more especially for Surat, as being the most frequented port in all India, where they may furnish themselves with all commodities which they want.

It is very pleasant to see the young children of the merchants and other people of the country, from the age of ten to fifteen or sixteen years, who seat themselves upon a tree, that lies in the void place of the town : every one of them has his diamond-weights in a little bag hanging at one side, on the other his purse, with five or six hundred pagods in gold in it. There they sit expecting when any person will come to sell them some diamonds. If any person brings them a stone, they put it into the hands of the eldest boy among them, who is as it were their chief ; who looks upon it, and after that gives it to him that is next him ; by which means it goes from hand to hand, till it return to him again, none of the rest speaking one word. After that he demands the price, to buy it if possible ; but if he buy it too dear, it is upon his own account. In the evening the children compute what they have laid out, then they look upon their stones, and separate them according to their water, their weight, and clearness. Then they bring them to the great merchants, who have generally great parcels to match : and the profit is divided among the children equally ; only the chief among them has a fourth in the hundred more than the rest. As young as they are, they so well understand the price of stones, that if one of them have bought

any purchase, and is willing to lose one half in the hundred, the other shall give him his money. They shall hardly bring you a parcel of stones, above a dozen, wherein there is not some flaw or other defect.

When I came to the mine, I went to wait upon the Governor, who told me I was welcome; and because he made no question but that I had brought gold with me, (for they talk of nothing under gold at the mines,) he bid me only lay it in my chamber, and he would undertake it should be safe. Thereupon he presented me with four servants to watch my gold day and night, and to follow my orders, bidding me withal fear nothing, but eat, drink, and sleep, and take care of my health; but withal he told me I must be careful of not cheating the King. Thereupon I fell to buying, and found profit enough, above twenty in the hundred cheaper than at Golconda.

I have one thing to observe which is more than ordinarily curious, concerning the manner how the Indians, as well as Mahumetans as idolaters, drive their bargains. Every thing is done with great silence, and without any talking on either side. The buyer and the seller sit one before another like two tailors, and the one of the two opening his girdle, the seller takes the right hand of the purchaser, and covers his own hand and that with his girdle: under which, in the presence of many merchants that meet together in the same hall, the bargain is secretly driven, without the knowledge of any person. For then the purchaser nor seller speak neither with their mouths nor eyes, but only with the hand, as thus.

When the seller takes the purchaser by the whole hand, that signifies a thousand, and as often as he squeezes it, he means so many thousand pagods or roupies, according to the money in question. If he takes but half to the knuckle of the middle finger, that is as much as to say fifty: the small end of the finger to the first knuckle signifies ten. When he grasps five fingers, it signifies five-hundred; if but one finger, one hundred. This is the mystery which the Indians use in driving their bargains. And many times it happens, that at the same place, where there are several people, one and the same parcel shall be sold seven or eight times over, and no person know that it was sold in that manner every time.

As for the weight of the stones, no person can be deceived in them, unless he purchase them in hugger-mugger. For if they are publicly bought, there is a person on purpose paid by the King, without any benefit from particular persons, whose place it is to weigh the diamonds; and when he has spoken the weight, the buyer and seller are satisfied in his words, as not being a person any way obliged to favour any person.

Having despatched all my business at the mine, the Governor appointed me six horsemen to convoy me through the territories under his government, which extends to a river that separates the kingdom of Visapour from that of Golconda. It is a very difficult thing to cross that river, it being deep, broad and rapid; besides that, there are no boats. But they ferry over men, carriages, oxen and coaches upon a round vessel, ten or twelve foot in diameter, made of

osier-twigs, like our flaskets, and covered without with ox-hides ; as I have already related. They might easily use boats, or make a bridge ; but the King of Golconda will not suffer either, because the river parts the two kingdoms. Every evening the ferry-men on both sides are bound to carry to two Governors on each side the river, an exact account of the persons, carriages and merchandises which they ferried over that day.

Coming to Golconda, I found that the person whom I had left in trust with my chamber, was dead : but that which I observed most remarkable, was, that I found the door sealed with two seals, one being the Cadie's or Chief Justice's, the other the Sha-Bander's, or Provost of the merchants. An officer of Justice, together with the servants I had left behind, watched the chamber night and day. This officer hearing of my arrival, went and gave notice to the Cadi and Sha-Bander, who sent for me. The Cadi presently asked me, if the money I had left in the chamber where the person died were mine, and how I could prove it. I told him I had no better proofs than the Letters of Exchange which I had brought to the banker that paid it by my order to the person deceased ; to whom I had also given further order, that if the banker paid me in silver, he should change the sum into gold. Thereupon the bankers were sent for, who affirming the payments accordingly, the Cadi sent his deputy to open the chamber door ; nor would he leave me, till I had counted over my money, and had assured him it was right. After that I returned to the Cadi and the Sha-Bander, and signified as much to them ; and

having paid them some fees which they demanded, to the value of four crowns and a half of our money, I returned them my thanks for their care. This I relate to shew the Justice of the country.

CHAPTER XII.

The author's journey to the other mines ; and how they find the diamonds there.

Seven days journey from Golconda eastward there is another diamond mine, called in the language of the country *Gani*, in the Persian tongue *Coulour*. It is near a great town, by which the same river runs, which I crossed coming from the other mine ; and a league and a half from the town is a high mountain in the form of a half-moon ; the space between the town and the mountain is a plain where they dig and find diamonds. The nearer they dig to the mountain, the larger stones they find ; but at the top they find nothing at all.

It is not above a hundred years since this mine was found out by a countryman, who digging in a piece of ground to sow millet, found therein a pointed stone that weighed above twenty-five carats ; he not knowing what the stone was, but seeing it glisten, carried it to Golconda, where as it happened well for him, he met with one that traded in diamonds. The merchant informing himself of the place where the stone was found,

admired to see a jewel of that bigness, not having seen any one before that weighed above ten or twelve carats. However his report made a great noise in the country ; insomuch that the monied men in the town set themselves to work, and causing the ground to be searched, they found, and still do find bigger stones, and in greater quantity than in any other mine. For they found a great number of stones from ten to forty carats, and sometimes bigger ; among the rest that large stone that weighed nine hundred carats, which Mirgimola presented to Aureng-zeb.

I ut though this mine of Coulour be so considerable for the quantity of great stones which are there found, yet the mischief is, the stones are not clean ; the waters having something of the quality of the earth where they are found. If the ground be marshy, the water inclines to black ; if it be red, there is a redness in the water ; in other places the stones appear somewhat greenish, in others yellowish ; such a diversity of soils there is between the town and the mountain. Upon the most part of these stones after they are cut, there appears a kind of greasy moisture, which must be as often wiped off.

As for the water of the stones, it is remarkable, that whereas in Europe we make use of day-light to examine the rough stones, and to judge of their water, and the specks that are found therein, the Indians do all that in the night-time, setting up a lamp with a large wick, in a hole which they make in the wall, about a foot square ; by the light whereof they judge of the water and clearness of the stone, which they hold between their fingers.

The water which they call celestial is the worst of all, and it is impossible to discern it so long as the stone is rough. The most infallible way to find out that water, is to carry the stone under a tree thick of boughs, for by the verdure of that shade you may easily discern whether the water be bluish or no.

The first time I was at the mine, there were above sixty thousand persons at work, men, women, and children ; the men being employed to dig, the women, and children to carry the earth.

After the miners have pitched upon the place where they intend to work, they level another place close by, of the same extent, or else a little bigger, which they enclose with a wall about two feet high. In the bottom of that little wall, at the distance of every two feet, they make small holes to let in the water ; which they stop up afterwards, till they come to drain out the water again. The place being thus prepared, the people that are to work meet all together, men, women, and children, with the workmaster in the company of his friends and relations. Then he brings along with him some little image of the god that they adore ; which being placed upright upon the ground, they all prostrate themselves three times before it, while their priest says a certain prayer. The prayer being ended, he marks the forehead of every one with a kind of glue, made of saffron and gum, to such a compass as will hold seven or eight grains of rice, which he sticks upon it ; then having washed their bodies with water, which every one brings in his pot, they rank themselves in order to eat what the workmaster presents them, before

they go to work, to encourage them both to labour and be faithful. This feast consists of nothing else but every one his plate of rice, distributed by the Bramin ; for an idolater may eat any thing from the hands of one of their priests. The plates are made of the leaves of a certain tree, not much unlike our walnut-tree leaves. Besides this, every one has a quarter of a pound of butter, melted in a small copper pot with some sugar.

When their feast is over, the men fall to digging, the women and children to carry earth to the place prepared in that manner as I have already described. They dig ten, twelve, and sometimes fourteen feet deep ; but when they come to any water they leave off. All the earth being carried into the place before-mentioned, the men, women, and children with pitchers throw the water which is in the drains upon the earth, letting it soak for two or three days, according to the hardness of it, till it come to be a kind of batter ; then they open the holes in the wall to let out the water, and throw on more water still, till all the mud be washed away, and nothing left but the sand. After that they dry it in the sun ; and then they winnow the sand in little winnows, as we winnow our corn. The small dust flies away, the great remains, which they pour out again upon the ground.

The earth being thus winnowed, they spread with a kind of rake, as thin as they possibly can ; then with a wooden instrument, like a paviors rammer, about half a foot wide at the bottom, they pound the earth from one end to the other, two or three times over. After that they winnow it

again then ; and spreading it at one end of the van, for fear of losing any of the earth, they look for the diamond.

Formerly they were wont to pound the earth with flint-stones, instead of wooden rammers ; which made great flaws in the diamonds, and is therefore now left off.

Heretofore they made no scruple to buy those diamonds that had a green outside ; for being cut, they proved very white, and of an excellent water.

Since they have been more nice ; for there was a mine discovered between Coulour and Raolconda, which the King caused to be shut up again, by reason of some cheats that were used there ; for they found therein that sort of stones which had this green outside, fair and transparent, and which appeared more fair than the others ; but when they came to the mill they crumbled to pieces.

CHAPTER XIII.

A continuation of the author's travels to the diamond mines.

I come to the third mine, which is the most ancient of all, in the kingdom of Bengala. You may give it the name of Soumelpour, which is the name of the town next to the place where the diamonds are found ; or rather Gouel, which is the name of the river in the sand whereof they seek for the stones. The territories through

which this river runs, belong to a Raja, who was anciently tributary to the Great Mogul, but revolted in the time of the wars between Sha-jehan and Gehan-guir his father. So soon as Sha-jehan came to the empire, he sent to demand his tribute of this Raja, as well for the time past, as to come ; who finding that his revenues were not sufficient to pay him, quitted his country, and retired into the mountains with his subjects. Upon his refusal, Sha-jehan believing he would stand it out, sent a great army against him, persuading himself that he should find great store of diamonds in his country. But he found neither diamonds, nor people, nor victuals, the Raja having burnt all the corn which his subjects could not carry away ; so that the greatest part of Sha-jehan's army perished for hunger. At length the Raja returned into his country, upon condition to pay the Mogul some slight tribute.

The way from Agra to this mine.

From Agra to Halabas, costs 130

From Halabas to Banarous, costs 33

From Agra to Sasaron, costs 4

From Agra to Sasaron you travel eastward ; but from Sasaron to the mine you must wind to the south, coming first to a great town, costs 21

This town belongs to the Raja I have spoken of. From thence you go to a fortress called Rodas, costs 4

This is one of the strongest places in all Asia, seated upon a mountain fortified with six bastions, and twenty-seven pieces of cannon, with three moats full of water, wherein there are good fish.

There is but one way to come to the top of the mountain, where there is a plain half a league in compass, wherein they sow corn and rice. There is above twenty springs that water that plain ; but all the rest of that mountain from top to bottom is nothing but a steep precipice covered with overgrown woods. The Rajas formerly used to live in this fort with a garrison of seven or eight hundred men. But the Great Mogul has it now ; having taken that fort by the policy of the famous Mirgimola, which all the Kings of India could never take before. The Raja left three sons, who betrayed one another ; the eldest was poisoned, the second went and served the Great Mogul, who gave him the command of four thousand horse ; the third possesses his father's territories, paying the Mogul a small tribute.

From the fortress of Rodas to Soumelpour,
costs 30

Soumelpour is a great town, the houses whereof are built of earth, and covered only with branches of cocoa-trees. All these thirty leagues you travel through woods, which is a very dangerous passage, as being very much pestered with robbers. The Raja lives half a league from the town, in tents set upon a fair rising ground, at the foot whereof runs the Gouel, descending from the southern mountains, and falling into Ganges.

In this river they find the diamonds. For after the great rains are over, which is usually in December, they stay all January till the river be clear ; by reason that by that time in some places it is not above two feet deep, and in several places the sand lies above the water. About the end of

January, or the beginning of February, there flock together out of the great town, and some others adjoining, above eight thousand persons, men, women and children, that are able to work. They that are skilful know by the sand whether there be any diamonds or no, when they find among the sand little stones like to those which we call thunder-stones. They begin to make search in the river from the town of Soumelpour to the very mountains from whence the river falls, for fifty leagues together.

Where they believe there are diamonds, they encompass the place with stakes, faggots, and earth, as when they go about to make the arch of a bridge to drain all the water out of that place. Then they dig out all the sand for two feet deep, which is all carried and spread upon a great place for that purpose prepared upon the side of the river; encompassed with a little wall about a foot and half high. When they have filled this place with as much sand as they think convenient, they throw water upon it, wash it, and sift it; doing in other things as they do at the mines which I have already described.

From this river come all those fair points which are called natural points, but a great stone is seldom found here. The reason why none of these stones have been seen in Europe, is because of the wars, that have hindered the people from working.

Besides the diamond mine which I have spoken of in the province of Carnatica, which Mirgimola caused to be set up, by reason of the yellowness of the diamonds, and the foulness of the stones; there is in the island of Borneo, the largest island

in the world, another river called Succadan, in the sand whereof they find diamonds as hard as any in the other mines. The principal reason that dissuaded me from going to the island of Borneo was, because I understood that the Queen of the island would not permit any strangers to carry away any of those diamonds out of the island. Those few that are exported, being carried out by stealth, and privately sold at Batavia. I say the Queen, and not the King, because in that island the women have the sovereign command, and not the men. For the people are so curious to have a lawful heir upon the throne, that the husband not being certain that the children which he has by his wife are his own; but the wife being always certain that the children which she bears are hers, they rather choose to be governed by a woman, to whom they give the title of Queen; her husband being only her subject, and having no power but what she permits him.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the diversity of weights used at the diamond mines. Of the pieces of gold and silver there current; and the rule which they observe to know the price of diamonds.

At the mine of Raolconda they weigh by mangelins, a mangelin being one carat and three quarters, that is seven grains.

At the mine of Gani or Coulour they use the same weights.

At the mine of Soumelpour in Bengala, they weigh by *raties*, and the *rati* is seven-eighths of a carat, or three grains and a half. They use the same weights over all the empire of the Mogul.

In the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour, they make use of mangelins; but a mangelin in those parts is not above one carat and three-eighths. The Portugals in Goa make use of the same weights in Goa; but a mangelin there is not above five grains.

As for the money in use: first, in Bengala, in the territories of the Raja before mentioned, in regard they lie enclosed within the dominions of the Great Mogul, they make their payments in roupies.

At the two mines about Raolconda in the kingdom of Visapour, the payments are made in new pagods, which the King coins in his own name, as being independent from the Great Mogul. The new pagod is not always at the same value; for it is sometimes worth three roupies and a half, sometimes more, and sometimes less; being advanced and brought down according to the course of trade, and the correspondence of the bankers with the Princes and Governors.

At the mine of Coulour or Gani, which belongs to the kingdom of Golconda, they make their payments in new pagods, which are equal in value to the King of Visapour's. But sometimes you are forced to give four in the hundred more, by reason they are better gold, and besides, they will take no others at the mine. These pagods are coined by the English and Hollanders, who, whether willingly or by force, are privileged by the King

to coin them in their forts : and those of the Hollanders cost one or two per cent. more than the English, by reason they are better gold, and for that the miners choose them before the other. But in regard the merchants are prepossessed that the miners are a rude and savage sort of people, and that the ways are dangerous, they stay at Golconda, where the work-masters keep correspondence with them, and send them their jewels. There they pay in old pagods coined many ages ago by several Princes that reigned in India before the Mahumetans got footing therein. Those old pagods are worth four roupies and a half, that is to say, a roupy more than the new : not that there is any more gold in them, or that they weigh any more. Only the bankers, to oblige the King, not to bring down the price, pay him annually a very great sum, by reason they get very much by it. For the merchants receive none of those pagods without a changer to examine them, some being all defaced, others low metal, others wanting weight : so that if one of these bankers were not present at the receipt, the merchant would be a greater loser, sometimes one, sometimes five, sometimes six in the hundred : for which they also pay them one quarter in the hundred for their pains. When the miners are paid, they also receive their money in the presence of bankers, who tells them which is good, and which is bad ; and has for that also one quarter in the hundred. In the payment of a thousand or two thousand pagods, the banker, for his fee, puts them into a bag, and seals it with his seal ; and when the merchant pays for his diamonds, he brings the seller

to the banker, who finding his bag entire, assures the party that all is right and good within ; and so there is no more trouble.

As for the roupies, they take indifferently, as well the Great Mogul's as the King of Golconda's : by reason that those which that King coins, are to be coined, by articles, with the Great Mogul's stamp.

It is an idle thing to believe that vulgar error, that it is enough to carry spices, tobacco, looking-glasses, and such trifles to truck for diamonds at the Indian mines : for I can assure ye, these people will not only have gold, but gold of the best sort too.

As for the roads to the mines, some fabulous modern relations have rendered them very dangerous, and filled them full of lions, tigers, and cruel people ; but I found them not only free from those wild creatures, but also the people very loving and courteous.

From Golconda to Raolconda, which is the principal mine, the road is as follows : the road being measured by gos, is four French leagues.

From Golconda to Canapour, one gos.

From Canapour to Parquel, two gos and a half.

From Parquel to Cakenol, one gos.

From Cakenol to Canol-Candanor, three gos.

From Canol-Candanor to Setapour, one gos.

From Setapour to the river, two gos.

That river is the bound between the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour.

From the river to Alpour, three quarters of a gos.

From Alpour to Canal, three quarters of a gos.

From Canal to Raolconda, two gos and a half.

Thus from Golconda to the mine, they reckon it seventeen gos, or 68 French leagues.

From Golconda to the mine of CouLOUR or Gani, is reckoned thirteen gos and three quarters, or 55 French leagues.

From Golconda to Almaspinda, three gos and a half.

From Almaspinda to Kaper, two gos.

From Kaper to Montecour, two gos and a half.

From Montecour to Naglepar, two gos.

From Naglepar to Eligada, one gos and a half.

From Eligada to Sarvaron, one gos.

From Sarvaron to Mellaseron, one gos.

From Mellaseron to Ponocour, two gos and a quarter.

At Ponocour you only cross the river to CouLOUR.

CHAPTER XV.

The rule to know the just price and value of a diamond of what weight soever, from three to a hundred, and upwards : a secret known to very few people in Europe.

I make no mention of diamonds of three carats, the price thereof being sufficiently known.

First then, as to others above that weight, you must know how much the diamond weighs, and see if it be perfect ; if it be a thick stone, well-squared, and have all its corners, if the water be white and lively, without specks and flaws. If it be a stone

cut in facets, which we call a rose-diamond, you must take notice whether the form be round or oval, whether it be of a fair breadth, and not of stones clapt together; whether it be of a good water, and without specks or flaws.

Such a stone weighing one carat, is worth 150 livres or more. Now to know how much a stone of the same perfection, weighing 12 carats, is worth.

Multiply 12 by 12, it makes 144. Then multiply 144 by 150, which is the price of a stone of one carat, it comes to 21,600 livres.

AS FOR EXAMPLE.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 12 \\
 12 \\
 \hline
 144 \\
 150 \\
 \hline
 7,200 \\
 144 \\
 \hline
 21,600 \text{ livres.} \\
 \hline
 \end{array}$$

To know the price of imperfect diamonds, you must observe the same rule, grounded upon the price of a stone of one carat.

You have a diamond of fifteen carats shown ye, neither of a good water, nor good form, and full of specks and flaws besides: such a diamond cannot be worth above 60, or 80, or hundred livres at most, according to the goodness of the stone.

Multiply therefore the weight of the diamond of 15 carats by 15: then multiply the product, which is 125, by the value of the stone of one carat, which we will grant to be 80 livres, the product whereof is 10,000 livres, the price of a diamond of 15 carats.

THE EXAMPLE.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 15 \\
 15 \\
 \hline
 75 \\
 15 \\
 \hline
 125 \\
 80 \\
 \hline
 10,000 \text{ livres.} \\
 \hline
 \hline
 \end{array}$$

By that it is easy to discover the difference between a perfect and an imperfect stone. For if that stone of 15 carats were perfect, the second multiplication should be wrought by 150, which is the price of a perfect stone of one carat: and then the diamond would come not to 10,000 livres, but to 33,750 livres, that is 23,750 livres more than an imperfect diamond of the same weight.

By this rule observe the price of two of the greatest diamonds of the world for cut-stones, the one in Asia, belonging to the Great Mogul; the other in Europe, in the possession of the Duke of Tuscany.

The Great Mogul's diamond weighs 279 and $\frac{9}{16}$ th carats. It is of a perfect good water, of a good shape, with only a little flaw in the edge of the cutting below, which goes round about the stone. Without that flaw, the first carat were worth 160 livres, but for that reason I reckon it not at above 150; and so by the rule it comes to 11,723,278 livres, 14 sous, and three liards. Did the diamond weigh no more than 279 carats, it would not be worth above 11,676,150 livres, so that the $\frac{9}{16}$ ths comes to 47,128 livres, 14 sous, and three liards.

The great Duke of Tuscany's diamond weighs 139 carats, clean and well-shaped, cut in facets every way: but in regard the water inclines somewhat toward the colour of citron, I do not value the first carat above 135 livres; so that by the rule the diamond ought to be worth 2,608,335 livres.

A diamond by the miners is called *Iwi*, which the 'Turks, Persians and Arabians call *Almas*.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of coloured stones, and the places where they are found.

There are but two places in all the East where coloured-stones are found, within the kingdom of Pegu, and the island of Ceylon. The first is a mountain twelve days' journey, or thereabouts, from Siren, toward the north-east; the name whereof is Capelan. In this mine are found great

quantities of rubies and espinels, or mothers of rubies, yellow topazes, blue and white sapphirs, jacinths, amethysts, and other stones of different colours. Among these stones which are hard, they find other stones of various colours, that are very soft, which they call *Bacan* in the language of the country, but are of little or no esteem.

Siren is the name of the city where the King of Pegu resides ; and Ava is the port of his kingdom. From Ava to Siren you go by water in great flat-bottomed barks, which is a voyage of sixty days. There is no going by land, by reason the woods are full of lions, tigers, and elephants. It is one of the poorest countries in the world, where there is no commodity but rubies ; the whole revenue whereof amounts not to above a hundred-thousand crowns. Among all the stones that are there found, you shall hardly see one of three or four carats that is absolutely clean, by reason that the King strictly enjoins his subjects not to export them out of his dominions ; besides that, he keeps to himself all the clean stones that are found. So that I have got very considerably in my travels, by carrying rubies out of Europe into Asia. Which makes me very much suspect the relation of Vincent le Blanc, who reports that he saw in the King's palace, rubies as big as eggs.

All rubies are sold by weights, which are called *ratis* ; that is, three grains and a half, or seven 8ths of a carat : and the payments are made in old pagods.

A ruby weighing one rati, has been sold for
pagods 20

A ruby of 2 ratis and one 8th, pagods 85

A ruby of 3 ratis and one 4th, pagods 185

A ruby of 4 ratis and five 3th, pagods 450

A ruby of 5 ratis, pagods 525

A ruby of 6 ratis and a half, pagods 920

If a ruby exceed six ratis, and be a perfect stone, there is no value to be set upon it.

The natives of the country call all coloured-stones rubies, distinguishing them only by the colour. Saphirs they call blue-rubies, amethysts they call violet-rubies, topazes yellow-rubies ; and so of other stones.

The other place where rubies are found, is a river in the island of Ceylan, which descends from certain high mountains in the middle of the island ; which swells very high when the rains fall ; but when the waters are low, the people make it their business to search among the sands for rubies, saphirs and topazes. All the stones that are found in this river, are generally fairer and clearer than those of Pegu.

I forgot to tell you that there are some rubies, but more Balleis-Rubies, and an abundance of Bastard-rubies, saphirs and topazes found in the mountains that run along Pegu to the kingdom of Camboya.

Coloured-stones are also found in some parts of Europe, as in Bohemia and Hungary. In Hungary there is a mine where they find certain flints of different bigness, some as big as eggs, some as big as a man's fist, which being broken, contain a ruby within as hard and as clean as those of Pegu.

In Hungary there is a mine of opals, which stone is no-where else to be found in the world, but there.

The Turquoise is no-where to be found but in Persia. Where there are two mines. The one is called the Old-Rock, three days journey from Meched, toward the north-west, near a great town which goes by the name of Michabourg. The other which is called the New-Rock is five days journey off. Those of the New-Rock are of a paler blue enclining to white, and less esteemed, so that you may have a great many for a little money. Some years since the King of Persia commanded that no turquoises should be digged out of the Old-Rock, but only for himself; making use of those turquoises instead of enamelling, to adorn hilts of swords, knives and daggers; of which the Persians are altogether ignorant.

As for emraulds, it is a vulgar error to say they came originally from the east. And therefore when jewellers and gold smiths, to prefer a deep coloured emrauld enclining to black, tell ye, it is an oriental emrauld, they speak that which is not true. I confess I could never discover in what part of our continent those stones are found. But sure I am, that the eastern-part of the world never produced any of those stones, neither in the continent, nor in the islands. True it is, that since the discovery of America some of those stones have been often brought rough from Pegu to the Philippine-islands, whence they have been transported into Europe; but this is not enough to make them oriental. Besides that, at this time they send them into Spain through the north-sea.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of pearls, and the places where they fish for them.

In the first place, there is a fishery for pearls in the Persian gulf, round about the island of Bakren. It belongs to the King of Persia, and there is a strong fort in it, garrisoned with three hundred men. The water which the people drink in that island, and all along the coast of Persia, is brackish and ill-tasted, so that only the natives of the country can drink it. Fresh water costs strangers very dear; for the people fetch it sometimes one league, sometime two leagues from the island, from the bottom of the sea, being let down by a rope, with a bottle or two tied about their wastes, which they fill, and stop it well; and then giving the rope a twitch, are halled up again by their companions.

Every one that fishes pays to the King of Persia five Abassis, whether he get any thing or no. The merchant also pays the King some small matter for every thousand oysters.

The second fishery for pearls is right against Bakren upon the coast of Arabia the Happy, near the city of Catisa, which together with all the country about it, is under the jurisdiction of an Arabian Prince. The pearls that are fished in these places are sold to the Indians, who are not so nice as we; for they give a good price for all, as well the uneven as the round ones. Over all Asia they chose the yellow water enclining to white; for they say those pearls that encline

somewhat to a gold colour, are more brisk, and never change colour; but that the white ones will change in thirty years time, through the very heat of the weather and the sweat of the person that wears them, turning them scandalously yellow.

There is a wondrous pearl in the possession of an Arabian Prince, that took Mascate from the Portugals. He then called himself Imenhect Prince of Mascate; being known before only by the name of Aceph Ben-Ali Prince of Norennæ. It is but a small province, but it is the best of all in the happy Arabia. Therein grow all things necessary for the life of man; particularly, delicate fruits, but more especially most excellent grapes, which would make most incomparable wine. This Prince has the most wonderful pearl in the world, not so much for its bigness, for it weighs not above twelve carats and one sixteenth, not for its perfect roundness, but because it is so clear and so transparent that you may almost see through it. The Great Mogul offered him by a Banian forty thousand crowns for his pearl, but he would not accept it. By which you see, that it is more profitable to carry jewels that are rare out of Europe into Asia, than to bring them out of Asia, into Europe; unless it be to Japan or China, where jewels are little esteemed.

There is another fishery for pearls in the sea that beats against the walls of a great town called Manar, in the island of Ceylan. For their roundness and their water, they are the fairest that are found in any other fishery; but they rarely weigh above three or four carats.

There are excellent pearls, and of a very good

water, and large, which are found upon the coast of Japan; but there are few fished for, in regard jewels are of no esteem among the natives.

There are other fisheries, in the West Indies; in the first place all along the island of Cubagna three leagues in compass, lying ten degrees and a half of northern latitude, a hundred and sixty leagues from Santo Domingo. The pearls are small, seldom weighing above five carats.

The second fishery is in the island of Manguerita, or the island of pearls, a league from Cubagna, but much bigger. This fishery is not the most plentiful, but it is the most esteemed of all those in the west Indies, by reason the pearls are of most excellent water, and very large. I sold one pear-fashioned to Sha-est-Kan, the Great Mogul's uncle, that weighed fifty-five carats.

The third fishery is at Camogete, near the continent.

The fourth at Rio de la Hacha, all along the same coast.

The fifth and last, at St. Martha's, sixty leagues from Rio de la Hacha. All these three fisheries produce very weighty pearls; but they are generally ill-shaped, and of a water enclining to the colour of lead.

As for Scotch pearls, and those that are found in the rivers of Bavaria, though a neck-lace of them may be worth a thousand crowns, yet they are not to be compared with the eastern and West Indian pearls.

Some years since there was a fishery discovered in a certain place upon the coast of Japan, and I

have seen some which the Hollanders have brought thence. They are of a very good water, and large, but very uneven.

Take this observation along with you, touching the difference of their waters; some being very white, others inclining to yellow, others to black, others to a leaden colour. As for the last, there are no such but only in America, which proceeds from the nature of the earth at the bottom of the water, which is generally more ouzy than in the east. I once met with six pearls in the return of a cargo from the West Indies that were perfectly round, but black like jet, which weighed one with another twelve carats. I carried them into the East Indies to put them off, but could meet with no chapman to buy them. As for those that incline to yellow, it proceeds from hence, that the fishermen selling the oysters to the merchants in heaps, while they stay fourteen or fifteen days till the oysters lose their water, the oysters wast and begin to smell, for which reason the pearl grows yellow by infection, which appears to be a truth, in regard that where the oysters preserve their liquors the pearls are white. Now the reason why they stay till the oysters open of themselves, is because that if they should force them open, they might perhaps injure and cut the pearl. In short the eastern people are much of our humour in matter of whiteness, for they love the whitest pearls and the blackest diamonds; the whitest bread, and the fairest women.

CHAPTER XVIII.

*How the pearls are bred in the oysters ; how they fish for them.
and at what time.*

Some ancient writers have vulgarly reported, that pearls are produced by the dew of heaven, and that there is but one in an oyster ; but experience teaches the contrary. For the oyster never stirs from the bottom of the sea, where the dew can never come, which is many times twelve fathoms deep ; besides, that it is as often observed, that there are six or seven pearls in one oyster ; and I have had in my hands an oyster, wherein there were above ten beginning to breed. It is very true, that they are not always of the same bigness ; for they grow in an oyster after the same manner as eggs in the belly of a pullet. But I cannot say there are pearls in all, for you may open many oysters and find none.

It is no advantage to them that fish for pearls ; for if the poor people could find any other employment, they would never stick to such a one as merely keeps them alive. But the land is so barren, that you may travel twenty leagues before you meet with one blade of grass ; and the people are so miserably poor, that they feed upon nothing but dates and salt-fish.

They fish in the eastern seas twice a year ; the first time in March and April, the second time in August and September ; and they keep their fairs in June and November. However they do not fish every year ; for they that fish, will know before-hand

whether it will turn to account or no. Now to the end they may not be deceived, they send to the places where they are wont to fish, seven or eight barks, who bring back each of them about a thousand oysters, which they open, and if they find not in every thousand oysters to the value of five fanoes of pearl, which amounts to half a crown of our money, it is a sign that the fishing will not turn to account, in regard the poor people would not be able to defray their charge. For partly for a stock to set out, and partly for victuals while they are abroad, they are forced to borrow money at three or four in the hundred a month. So that unless a thousand oysters yield them five fanoes of pearls, they do not fish that year. As for the merchants, they must buy their oysters at hap-hazard, and be content with what they find in them. If they meet with great pearls, they account themselves happy; which they seldom do at the fishery of Manar, those pearls being fit for little else but to be sold by the ounce, to powder. Sometimes a thousand oysters amounts to seven fanoes, and the whole fishery to a hundred thousand piasters. The Hollanders take of every diver eight piasters, in regard they always attend the fishery with two or three small men of war, to defend them from the Malavares pirates.

The more rain falls in the year, the more profitable the fishery happens to be. They fish in twelve fathom water, five or six leagues off at sea, sometimes two hundred and fifty barks together, among which there is not above one or two divers at most

There is a cord tied under the arms of them

that dive, one end whereof is held by them that are in the bark. There is also a great stone of eighteen or twenty pounds tied to the great toe of him that dives; the end of the rope that fastens it being also held by them in the vessel. The diver has beside a sack made like a net, the mouth whereof is kept open with a hoop. Thus provided, he plunges into the sea, the weight of the stone presently sinking him; when he is at the bottom, he slips off the stone, and the bark puts off. Then the diver goes to filling his sack, as long as he can keep his breath; which when he can do no longer, he gives the rope a twitch, and is presently hauled up again. Those of Manar are better fishers, and stay longer in the water than those of Bakren and Catifa; for they neither put pincers upon their noses, nor cotton in their ears, as they do in the Persian Gulf.

After the diver is drawn up, he stays half a quarter of an hour to take breath, and then dives again, for ten or twelve hours together. As for the oysters themselves, they throw them away, as being ill-tasted and unsavoury.

To conclude the discourse of pearls, you are to take notice, that in Europe they sell them by the carat weight, which is four grains. In Persia they sell them by the *Abas*, and one abas is an eighteenth less than our carat. In the dominions of the Mogul, the Kings of Visapour and Golconda weigh them by the ratis, and one ratis is also an eighteenth less than our carat.

Goa was formerly the greatest place of the world for the trade of jewels and pearls. You must know therefore, that in Goa, and in all other places

which the Portugals had in the Indies, they used a particular weight to sell their pearls by, which they call chegos ; the proportion whereof to carats appears in the following table.

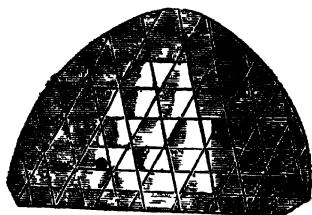
*Carats. Chegos.**Carats. Chegos.*

1 ——— 5	21 ——— 306
2 ——— 8	22 ——— 336
3 ——— 11 and a half	23 ——— 367 & a quarter
4 ——— 16	24 ——— 400
5 ——— 21	25 ——— 430
6 ——— 27	26 ——— 469 & a quarter
7 ——— 34	27 ——— 506 & a quarter
8 ——— 44	28 ——— 544 & a quarter
9 ——— 56	29 ——— 584
10 ——— 69	30 ——— 625
11 ——— 84	31 ——— 667 & a quarter
12 ——— 100	32 ——— 711
13 ——— 117	33 ——— 756 and a quart.
14 ——— 136	34 ——— 802 and 3 quart.
15 ——— 156	35 ——— 850 and a quart.
16 ——— 177 & 3 quart.	36 ——— 900
17 ——— 200 & a half	37 ——— 950 and a half
18 ——— 225	38 ——— 1002 & 3 quart.
19 ——— 250 & a half	39 ——— 1056
20 ——— 277 & 3 quart.	40 ——— 1111 & a quart.

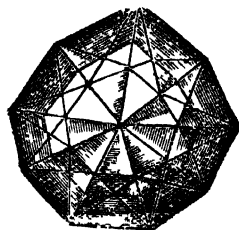
See page 355.

Travels in India.

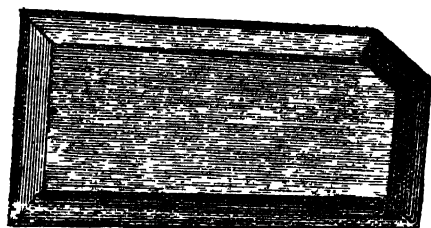
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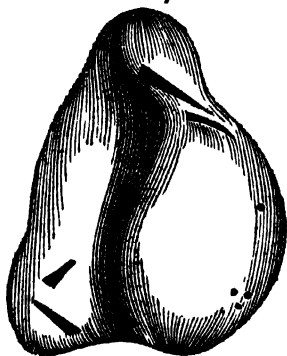
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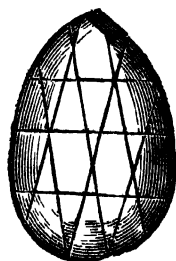
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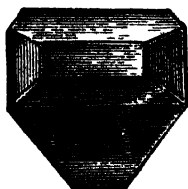
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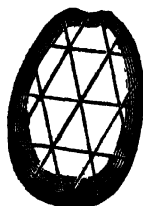
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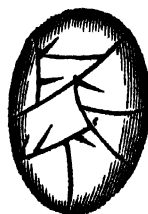
N. 6



N. 7



N. 8



CHAPTER XIX.

Observations upon the fairest and largest diamonds and rubies which the author has seen in Europe and Asia, represented according to the figures in the plates ; as also upon those which the author sold to the King upon his last return from the Indies ; with the figure of a large topaz, and the fairest pearls in the world.

Number 1.

This diamond belongs to the Great Mogul, being cut into the same form ; and it weighs 319 ratis and an half, which make 279 and nine 16ths of our carats : when it was rough, it weighed 907 ratis, which make 793 carats.

Number 2

Is the figure of a diamond belonging to the great Duke of Tuscany. It weighs 139 carats and an half : the fault of it is, that the water inclines somewhat to a citron-colour.

Number 3

Is a stone that weighs 176 and one 8th mangelins, which makes 242 carats and five 16ths. A mangelin coming to one and three 8ths of our carats. Being at Golconda I saw this stone ; and it was the biggest that ever I saw in my life in a merchant's hands. It was valued at 500,000 roupies, or 750,000 livres of our money : I offered 400,000 roupies, but could not have it.

Number 4

Is the figure of a diamond which I bought at Amadabat ; and it weighed 178 ratis, or 157 carats and a quarter.

Number 5

Is the figure of the fore-mentioned diamond, after it was cut on both sides ; there remaining 94 carats and a half ; the water being perfect. The flat side where there were two flaws below, was as thin as a sheet of brown paper : when the stone was cut, I caused all that thin side to be taken off, with one part of the end above, where there remains one little speck of a flaw.

Number 6

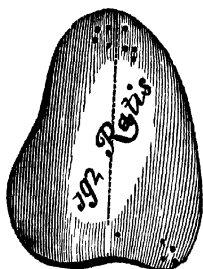
Is another diamond which I bought at the mine of Coulour. It is fair and clean, and weighs 36 mangelins, or 63 and $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of our carats.

Number 7, and 8

Are two pieces of a stone that was cut in two, which being entire, weighed 75 mangelins and a half, or 104 carats. Though it were of a good water, it seemed so foul in the middle, that, in regard it was large, and held at a high price, there was never a Banian would venture upon it. At length an Hollander bought it, and cutting it in two, found in the middle of it, eight carats of

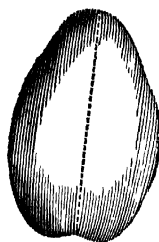
See page 357.

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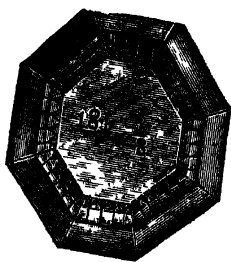


Travels in India.

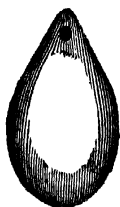
*N. 2 **



N. 6



*N. 5 **



N. 4



*N. 3 **



filth like a rotten weed. The small piece happened to be clean, excepting a little flaw hardly to be perceived, but for the other, wherein there are so many other cross flaws, there was no way but to make seven or eight pieces of it. The Hollander ran a great risk in cutting it asunder; for it was very great luck that it had not broken into a hundred pieces. Yet for all that it did not turn to account; so that it is in vain for another to buy that which a Banian refuses.

CHAPTER XX.

The forms of twenty rubies which the author sold to the King upon his last return from the Indies. The first part of the plate shews the weight, extent, and thickness of every stone.

Number 1

Is the figure of a ruby that belongs to the King of Persia. It is in shape and bigness like an egg, bored through in the middle, deep coloured, fair and clean, except one flaw in the side. They will not tell you what it cost, nor let you know what it weighs; only it appears by the register that it has been several years in the King's treasury.

Number 2

Is the figure of a Balleis ruby; sold for such to Giafer-Kan, the Great Mogul's uncle, who paid

950,000 roupies, 1,425,000 livres for it. But an old Indian jeweller affirming afterwards, that it was no Balleis ruby, that it was not worth above 500 roupies, and the Giafer-Kan was cheated ; and his opinion being confirmed by Sha-jehan, the most skilful in jewels of any person in the Empire, Aureng-zeb compelled the merchant to take it again, and to restore the money back.

Number 3, and 4

Are the figure of a ruby belonging to the King of Visapour. Number 4 is the height of the stone above the gold. And Number 3, is the roundness of the bezil. It weighs fourteen mangelins, or seventeen carats and a half ; a Visapour mangelin being but five grains. It cost the King 14,200 new pagods, or 74,550 livres.

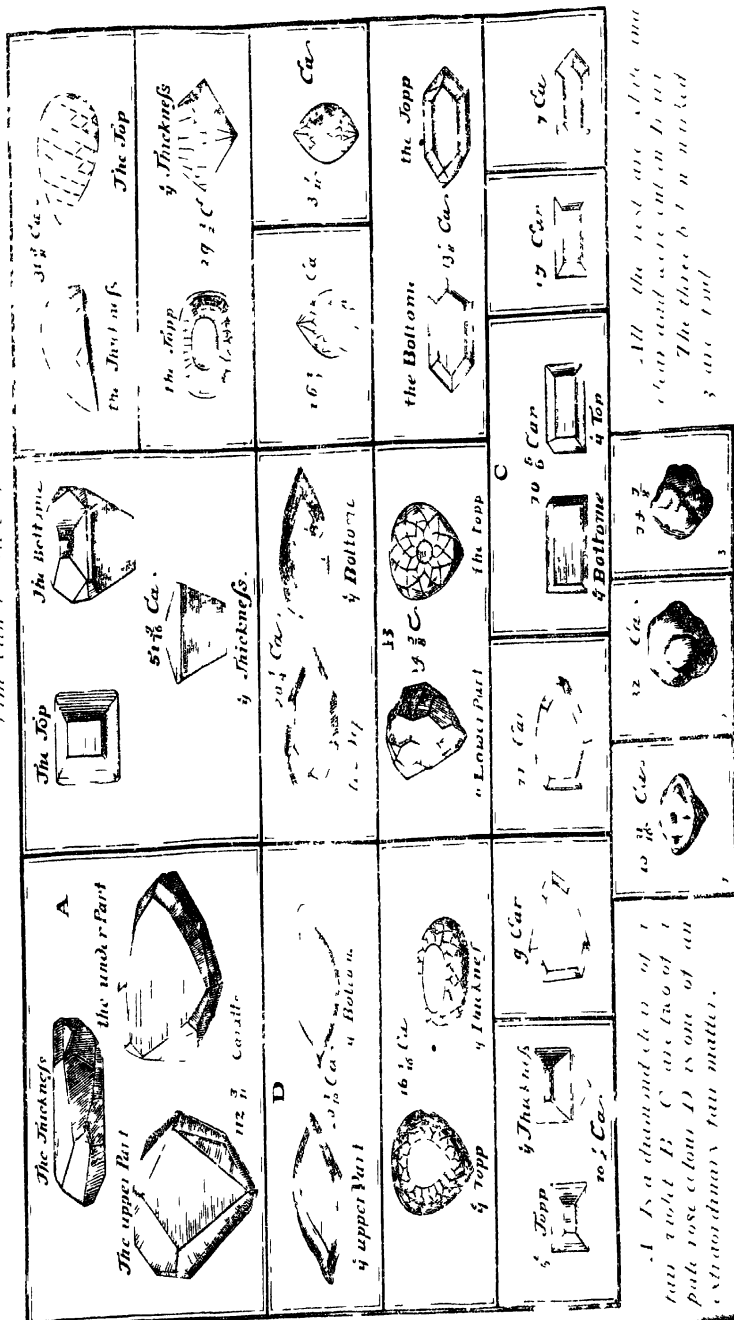
Number 5

Is the figure of a ruby that a Banian shewed me at Banarous ; it weighs 58 ratis, or 50 carats and 3 quarters ; being of the second rank in beauty. In shape it is like a plump almond, bored through at the end. I offered 40,000 roupies, or 60,000 livres for it ; but the merchant demanded 55,000 roupies.

Number 6

Is the figure of a great topaz belonging to the Great Mogul ; nor did I see him wear any other but that, all the while I was in India. This topaz weighs 181 ratis and half a quarter, or 157 carats

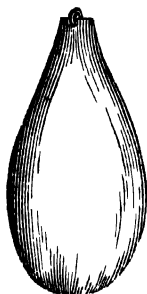
India. Museum I have not sold to the King at his last return to India. His Majesty, which consideration, and for several years done the King from which the King of



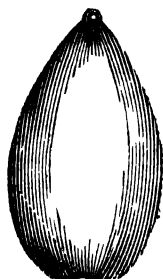
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Travels in India.

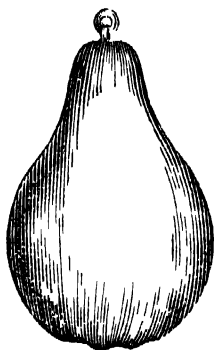
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*N. 2 **



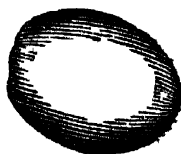
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*N. 4 **

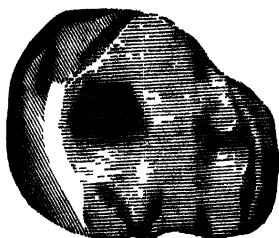


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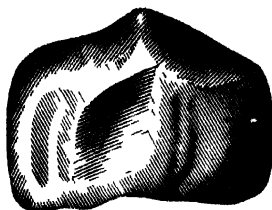
Travels in India.

The forme of three Balais Rupies belonging to his Majesty transparent quite through

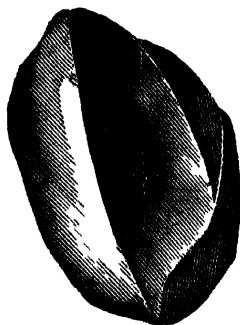
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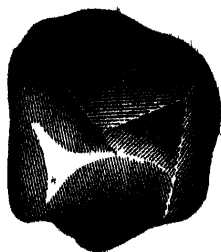
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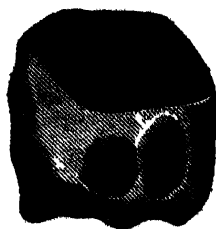
N. 8



N. 9



N. 9



and three quarters. It was bought at Goa for the Great Mogul, and cost 181,000 roupies, or 271,500 livres of our money.

Numbers 7, 8, 9

Are the figures of three several rubies belonging to the King of France.

Number 1

Is the figure of a pearl which the King of Persia bought at the fishery of Catifa in Arabia. It cost him 32,000 tomans, or 1,400,000 livres of our money, at forty-six livres and six deneers to a toman. It is the fairest and most perfect pearl that ever was yet found to this hour, having no defect.

Number 2

Is the figure of the biggest pearl that ever I saw in the court of the Great Mogul. It hangs about the artificial peacock's neck that adorns his great throne.

Number 3

Is the figure of a pearl that I sold to Cha-est-Kan; the water is somewhat faint, but it is the biggest pearl that was ever carried out of Europe into Asia.

Number 4

Is a great perfect pearl, as well for its water as for its form, which is like an olive. It is in the,

midst of a chain of emraulds and rubies, which the Great Mogul wears ; which being put on, the pearl dangles at the lower part of his breast.

Number 5

Is a pearl perfectly round, the biggest I ever saw, and belongs to the Great Mogul. The like could never be found ; for which reason the Great Mogul lays it up very charily, and never uses it. For if it could be matched, both would make a pair of pendants for the ears, set between rubies or emraulds, according to the custom of the country ; there being no person of any quality that does not wear a pearl between two coloured stones in his ear.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of coral, and yellow amber, and the places where it is found.

Coral, but little valued in Europe, is highly esteemed in all the three other parts of the world ; and there are three places where they fish for it upon the coast of Sardigna. That of Arguerrel is the fairest of all. The second place is called Boza ; and the third is near the island of St. Peter. There are two other places upon the coast of France, the one near the bastion of France ; the other at Tabarque. There is also another fishery upon the coast of Sicily, near Trepano, but the coral is small, and ill-coloured. There is another

upon the coast of Catalogna, near Cape de Quiers ; where the coral is large, and of an excellent colour, but the branches are short. There is a ninth fishery in the island of Majorque, much like that near the island of Corsica. And these are all the places in the Mediterranean Sea, where they fish for coral ; for there is none at all in the ocean.

Because that coral grows under the hollow rocks where the sea is deep, the fishers fix two spars of wood across, fastening a great piece of lead in the middle to make it sink : after that they wind carelessly about the spar good store of tufted hemp, and fasten the wood to two cords, one end whereof hangs at the poop, the other at the prow of the vessel. Then letting go the wood with the stream or current by the sides of the rock, the hemp twists itself among the coral, so that sometimes they stand in need of five or six boats to pull up the wood again : and if one of the cables should chance to break with the stress, all the rowers are in danger to be lost. While they tear up the coral thus by force, there tumbles as much into the sea as they fetch up : and the bottom of the sea being generally very ouzy, the coral will be eaten as our fruits are eaten by the worms ; so that the sooner they get it out of the mud, the less it will be wasted.

This puts me in mind of one thing that I saw at Marseilles in a shop where they dealt in coral. It was a great piece of coral, as big about as a man's fist, which because it was a little worm-eaten, was cut in two pieces. When it was so cut, there was a worm that stirred, and had life, and lived for some months after, being again put into

the hole. For among some branches of coral there engenders a kind of spongy-matter, like our honey-combs, where these worms lie like bees.

Some think that coral is soft in the sea, though in truth it be hard. But this indeed is as true, that in certain months of the year you may squeeze out of the end of a branch a kind of milky-substance; and this perhaps may be a kind of seed, which falling upon any thing that it first meets with in the sea (as if it light upon a dead skull, the blade of a sword, or a pomegranate) produces another branch of coral. And I have seen a pomegranate, and had it in my hand, that had fallen into the sea, about which the coral had twined at least half a foot high.

They fish for coral from the beginning of April to the end of July; to which purpose there are employed above 200 vessels, some years more, and some years less. They are built all along the river of Genoa, being very swift. Their sails are very large for more swiftness, so that there are no gallees can reach them. There are seven men and a boy to every bark. They never fish above forty miles from the land, where they think there are rocks, for fear of the pirates, from which they make all the sail they can when they see them, and easily escape them through the nimbleness of their vessels.

I have one observation to make concerning coral, in respect of the eastern-people. The Japonners make little account of jewels or pearls; valuing nothing so much as a good grain of coral, wherewith they pull the string that shuts their purses, such as we had formerly in England. So that they

strive who shall have the fairest grain of coral hanging at the end of the silk-string that draws their purses. For this reason a piece of coral as big as an egg, fair and clean without any flaw, will produce what any man will ask in reason for it. The Portuguese have assured me they would sometimes give 20,000 crowns for such a piece. And no wonder they will give so much money for a piece of coral, who despising all other jewels and pearls, care for nothing but that which is in no esteem anywhere else. They set a great value upon the skin of a certain fish which is rougher than a seal-skin. Upon the back of the fish there are six little holes, and sometimes eight, somewhat elevated, with another in the middle; in the form of a rose. They make scabbards for swords of the skin; and the more those holes grow in the form of a rose, the higher value they put upon them; having given ten-thousand crowns for a skin. To conclude the discourse of coral, you must know that the meaner sort of people use it for bracelets and neck-laces, all over Asia, especially toward the northern territories of the Great Mogul; and all along the mountains as you go to the kingdom of Asen and Boutan.

Yellow-amber is only found upon the coast of Prussia in the Baltic-Sea, where the sea throws it upon the sand when such and such winds blow. The elector of Brandenburg, who is sovereign of that coast, farms it out for 20,000 crowns a year, and sometimes 22,000. And the farmers keep guards on both sides of the shore, in regard the sea casts it up sometimes upon one side, and sometimes upon the other, to prevent the stealing of it.

Amber is nothing but a certain congelation made in the sea, like a certain gum ; for you shall find in several pieces, flies, gnats, and other insects congealed therein. I saw seven or eight flies so congealed in one piece.

In China, when any great lord makes a feast, it is for his grandeur and magnificence to cause three or four several sorts of perfuming-pots to be set upon the table, and to throw into every one of them a vast quantity of amber ; for the more it burns, and the bigger the pieces are, the more magnificent is the entertainment accounted. The reason of this custom is, because they adore the fire ; and besides, that the amber casts forth a scent pleasing to the Chinese, there is a kind of oil in it, that flames after a more unusual manner than other materials of fire. This waft of amber makes it the best commodity that could be imported into China, if the trade were free for strangers. At present the Hollanders have engrossed all this trade to themselves, and the Chinese come all to Batavia to buy it.

As for amber-grise ; there is no person in the world that knows either what it is, or where, or how it is produced. But the fairest probability is, that it must be only in the eastern-sea : though some parcels have been found upon the coast of England, and in some other parts of Europe. The greatest quantity is found upon the coast of Melinda, but more especially in the mouth of a river called Rio de Sena. The Governor of Mozambique gets in the three years of his government above 300,000 pardoes of amber-grise, every pardo containing 27 sous of our money. Sometimes they

meet with very large and very considerable pieces. In the year 1627 a Portugal setting sail from Goa to the Manilles, after he had past the strait of Malacca, was by tempest driven near an unknown island, where they came to an anchor. Several of the ship's company venturing ashore, met with a river; and going to bath themselves in it, one of them found a great piece of amber-grise that weighed thirty-three pounds; but falling together by the ears about their shares, the Captain, to reconcile them told them it was pity to deface it, in regard it was a present fit for the King; and therefore advised them to present it to the Viceroy, who would no doubt reward them for their pains. By that means the Captain got the parcel out of their clutches, and presenting it to the Viceroy, got a reward for himself; and the party that found it: but the rest had nothing at all.

In the year 1646 or 1647, a Middleburgher of good quality found a piece of forty-two pounds upon the coast of the island of St. Maurice, where he commanded for the Holland-company, east of the island of St. Lawrence, and sent it to Batavia: but there being a mark, as if some piece of it were broken off, the Zelder, was accused to have taken half, and turned out of his command; whatever he could say to justify himself.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of musk and bezoar ; and some other medicinal stones.

The best sort, and the greatest quantity of musk, comes from the kingdom of Boutan, from whence they bring it to Patna, the chief city of Bengala, to truck it away for other commodities. All the musk that is sold in Persia comes from thence. And the musk-merchants had rather deal with you for coral and yellow-amber, than for gold or silver ; in regard the other is more in esteem among the natives where they live. I was so curious as to bring the skin of one to Paris, of which I caused the figure to be cut.

After they have killed the creature, they cut off the bladder that grows under the belly as big as an egg, nearer to the genital parts than to the navil. Then they take out the musk that is in the bladder, which at that time looks like clotted-blood. When the natives would adulterate their musk, they stuff the bladder with the liver and blood of the animal sliced together, after they have taken out as much of the right musk as they think convenient. This mixture in two or three years time produces certain animals in the bladder that eat the good musk ; so that when you come to open it, there is a great waft. Others, so soon as they have cut off the bladder, and taken out as much of the musk, as that the deceit may not be too palpable, fill up the vessel with little stones to make it weight. The merchants are less displeased at this deceit than the former,

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by reason that they do not find the musk to be eaten. But the deceit is harder to be discovered, when they make little purses of the skin of the belly of the beast, which they sew up with strings of the same skin, which are like the true bladders; and then fill those purses with what they have taken out of the right bladders, and the other fraudulent mixture which they design to put among it. True it is, that should they tie up the bladder as soon as they cut it off, without giving it air or time to lose its force, the strength of the perfume would cause the blood to gush out of the nose, so that it must be qualified to render it acceptable, or rather less hurtful to the brain. The scent of the beast which I carried to Paris, was so strong, that I could not keep it in my chamber; for it made all people's head ache that came near it. At length my servants laid it in a garret, and cut off the bladder, and yet the scent remained very strong. This creature is not to be found in 65 degrees, but in 60 there are vast numbers, the country being all over covered with forests. True it is, that in the months of February and March, after these creatures have endured a sharp hunger, by reason of the great snows that fall where they breed, ten or twelve feet deep, they will come to 44 or 45 degrees to fill themselves with corn and new rice. And then it is that the natives lay gins and snares for them to catch them as they go back: shooting some with bows, and knocking others on the head. Some have assured me that they are so lean and faint with hunger at that time, that you may almost take them running. There must be

surely a prodigious number of these creatures, none of them having above one bladder no bigger than a hen's egg, which will not yield above half an ounce of musk : and sometimes three or four will not afford an ounce ; and yet what a world of musk is bought up ?

The King of Boutan fearing that the cheats and adulterations of musk would spoil the musk trade, ordered that none of the bladders should be sewed up, but that they should be all brought to Boutan, and there, after due inspection, be sealed up with his seal. Yet notwithstanding all the wariness and care of the King, they will sometimes cunningly open them, and put in little pieces of lead to augment the weight. In one voyage to Patna I bought 7673 bladders, that weighed 2557 ounces and an half ; and 452 ounces out of the bladder.

Bezoar comes from a province of the kingdom of Golconda toward the north-east. It is found among the ordure in the paunch of a wild goat that browzes upon a certain tree, the name whereof I have forgot. This shrub bears little buds, round about which, and the tops of the boughs, the bezoar engenders in the maw of the goat. It is shaped according to the form of the buds or tops of the branches which the goats eat : which is the reason there are so many shapes of bezoar stones. The natives, by feeling the belly of the goat, know how many stones she has within, and sell the goat according to the quantity. This they will find out by sliding their hands under their bellies, and then shaking both sides of the paunch ; for the stones will fall into the middle,

where they may easily count them all by their feeling.

The rarity of bezoar is in the bigness ; though the small bezoar has the same virtue as that which is larger. But there is more deceit in the large bezoar ; for the natives have got a trick to add to the bigness of the stone, with a certain paste composed of gum, and something else of the colour of bezoar. And they are so cunning too, to shape it just like natural bezoar. The cheat is found out two ways ; the first is by weighing the bezoar, and then steeping it in warm water ; if neither the water change colour, nor the bezoar lose any thing of its weight, the stone is right. The other way is to thrust a red-hot bodkin of iron into the stone ; if the bodkin enters, and causes it to fry, there is a mixture. Bezoar is dearer according to the bigness of the stones, advancing in price like diamonds. For if five or six bezoars weigh an ounce, an ounce will be worth fifteen or eighteen francs ; but if it be a stone of one ounce, that very ounce is well worth 100 francs. I have sold one of four ounces and a half for 2,000 livres.

I have been very curious to inform myself of all things that concerned the nature of bezoar ; but could never learn in what part of the body of the goat it was to be found. One time among the rest, having obliged several native merchants by putting off for them a great quantity of bezoar ; upon my request, though it be death without mercy to transport any of these goats out of the country, they brought me six goats by stealth to my lodging. When I asked the

price of them, I was surprized, when they told me one was worth but three roupies; that the two others were worth four roupies; and the three others four and three quarters a piece. I asked them why some were more worth than others; but I found afterwards that the first had but one bezoar, that the rest had two, or three, or four. The six goats had in all seventeen bezoars in them, and a half one, as big as the half of a hazel-nut. The inside was like the soft ordure of the goat, the bezoar lying among the dung, which is in the belly of the goat. Some averred that they grew right against the liver, others right against the heart, but I could never find out the truth.

As well in the east, as west, there are a great quantity of bezoars that breed in the same manner in cows; of which there have been some that have weighed seventeen or eighteen ounces; for there was such a one that was given to the great Duke of Tuscany. But those bezoars are little esteemed, six grains of the other bezoar working more powerfully than thirty of this.

As for the bezoar which breeds in apes, as some believe, it is so strong, that two grains work as effectually as six of goat's-bezoar: but it is very scarce, as being only found in those apes that breed in the island of Macassar. This sort of bezoar is round, whereas the other is of several fashions, as I said before. As the apes bezoar is stronger, and scarcer than the goats, so it is dearer, and more sought after; a piece as big as a nut, being sometimes worth a hundred

crowns. The Portugals make great account of this bezoar, standing always upon their guard for fear of being poisoned.

There is another stone in great esteem, that is called the porcupine's-stone, which that creature is said to carry in its head, and is more precious than bezoar against poison. If it be steeped in water a quarter of an hour, the water becomes so bitter, that nothing can be more bitter. There is also a stone sometimes found in the belly of that creature of the same nature; and as good as that which comes from the head; nevertheless with this difference, that being steeped in water, it loses nothing of its weight nor bulk, as the other does. I have bought in my time three of those stones. One of them cost me 500 crowns, and I exchanged it to advantage. I paid four hundred crowns for the other, which I kept, the other was sold me for 200 crowns, which I presented to a friend.

There is the serpent-stone not to be forgotten, about the bigness of a double; and some are almost oval, thick in the middle, and thin about the sides. The Indians report that it is bred in the head of certain serpents. But I rather take it to be a story of the idolater's priests, and that the stone is rather a composition of certain drugs. Whatever it be, it is of excellent virtue to drive any venom out of those that are bit by venomous creatures. If the person bit be not much wounded, the place must be incised; and the stone being applied thereto, will not fall off till it has drawn all the poison to it. To cleanse it, you must steep it in woman's milk, or for want

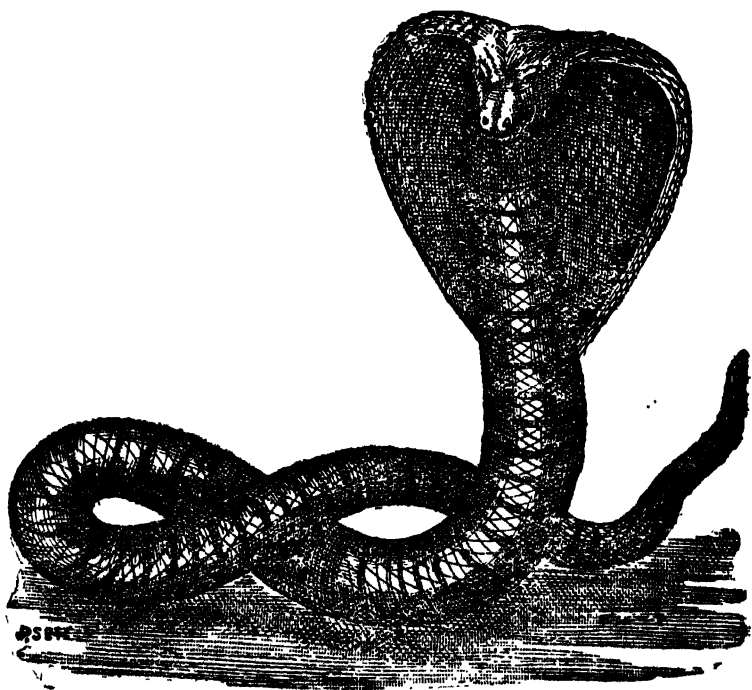
of that, in cow's milk ; after the stone has lain ten or twelve hours, the milk will turn to the colour of an apostemated matter. The Arch-bishop of Goa carrying me to his cabinet of rarities, showed me one of these stones : and after he had assured me of the rare qualities it had, gave it me. Once as he crossed a marsh in the island of Salsete where Goa stands, one of the men that carried his *Pallequis*, being half naked, was bit by a serpent, and healed at the same time. I bought several ; but there are none but the Bramines that sell them, which makes me believe that they compound them. There are two ways to try whether the serpent-stone be true or false. The first is, by putting the stone in your mouth, for then it will give a leap, and fix to the palate. The other is, by putting it in a glass full of water ; for if the stone be true, the water will fall a boiling, and rise in little bubbles up to the top of the glass.

There is another stone, which is called the Stephen's-stone with the hood. This is a kind of serpent that has a kind of a hood hanging down behind the head, as it is represented in the figure.* And it is behind this hood that the stone is found, many times as big as pullet's egg. There are some serpents both in Asia and America of a monstrous bigness, 25 feet long ; as was that, the skin whereof is kept in Batavia, which had swallowed a maid of 18 years of age. These stones are not found in any of those serpents that are not at least two feet long.

* See the figure in Appendix.

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This stone being rubbed against another stone, yields another slime, which being drunk in water by the person that has the poison in his body, powerfully drives it out. These serpents are nowhere to be found but upon the coasts of Melinde; but for the stones you may buy them of the Portuguese mariners and soldiers that come from Mozambique.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the places where they find their gold both in Asia and America.

Japan, which consists of several islands eastward of China, bending to the north, some people believing that Nippon, which is the biggest, is in a manner joined to the firm land, is that region of all Asia that yields the greatest quantity of gold: though others believe it is found in the island of Formosa, and carried thence to Japan. For as long as the Hollanders have had the island, they could never yet tell what is the trade of that coast, whence they believe the gold comes.

There comes also gold from China, which the Chinese exchange for the silver which is brought them. For price for price, they love silver better than gold; because they have no silver mines. Yet it is the coarsest metal of all the Asiatic gold.

The island of Celebes or Macassar produces

gold also, which is drawn out of the rivers, where it rolls among the sand.

In the island of Achen or Sumatra, after the rainy season, when the torrents are wafted, they find veins of gold in the flints, which the waters wash down from the mountains that lie toward the north-east. Upon the west side of the island, when the Hollanders come to load their pepper, the natives bring them great store of gold, but very coarse metal, if not worse than that of China.

Toward the Thibet, which is the ancient Caucasus, in the territories of a Raja, beyond the kingdom of Chachemir, there are three mountains close one by another one of which produces excellent gold, the other granats, and the third lapis-lazuli.

There is gold also comes from the kingdom of Tipra, but it is coarse, almost as bad as that of China; and these are all the places in Asia that produce gold. I shall now say something of the gold of Africa, and the places where it is found in greatest quantities.

Observe by the way, that the Viceroy of Mozambique has under his command the Governors of Sofala and Chepon-Goura. The first of these two governments lies upon the river Sene, sixty leagues from the mouth of the river; and the other ten leagues higher. From the mouth of the river to those very places on each side of the river, great numbers of Negroes inhabit, which are all commanded by one Portuguese. The Portuguese have been masters of this country for many years, where they take upon them like lords, and make war

one upon another for the slightest occasions in the world ; some of them having under them five thousand Cafres, which are their slaves. The Governor of Mozambique furnishes them with calicuts, and all other necessary commodities which they want, which he sells them at his own rates. When he enters upon his government he carries with him great quantities of all sorts of commodities, especially calicuts dyed black. His correspondents also in Goa send him every year two vessels, which he sends to Sofala, Chepon-Goura, and even as far as the city of Monomotopa, the chief city of a kingdom of the same name, otherwise called Vouvebaran, distant from Chepon-Goura fifty leagues, or thereabouts. He that commands all that country, assumes the name of Emperor of Monomotopa, extending his dominions as far as the confines of Prester John's country. From this country of Monomotopa it is, that the most pure and finest gold of all Africa comes : where they dig it with ease out of the earth, not being put to labour above two or three feet deep. In some places of that country which are not inhabited by reason of the scarcity of water, the people find great pieces of gold, of several forms and weights, upon the surface of the earth ; some of which weigh an ounce. One I have by me that weighs an ounce and a half, or thereabouts. Being at Surat, I went to visit the Ambassador of the King of the Abyssins. He showed us the present which his master had sent to the Great Mogul, consisting of fourteen stately horses, the remainder of 30, the rest dying by the way ; and a great number of slaves of both sexes.

But what was most remarkable, was a natural tree, all of gold, two feet and four inches high, and six inches about in the stock. It had ten or twelve branches, some whereof shot out half a foot in length, and an inch about; others much smaller. In some parts of the great branches appeared certain bunches that resembled buds. The roots of the tree, which were also natural, were thick and short; the longest not exceeding four or five inches.

The natives of Monomotopa knowing the time of the year that the commodities arrive, come to Sofala and Chepon-Goura to furnish themselves. Thither also come the Cafres of other provinces and kingdoms for the same purpose. Whereupon the Governors of those places sell them what they want, trusting them till the next year, when they oblige themselves to bring their gold, which they are very punctual to do, for else there could be no trade between them. The natives of Monomotopa never live long, by reason of the badness of the waters in the country: for at the age of five and twenty years they begin to be dropsical; so that it is a great wonder if any among them live above forty years. The province where the river Sene has its head, is called Monkaran, and is under the jurisdiction of a certain King, beginning a hundred leagues, or thereabouts, above Chapon-Goura. The people of that country find great store of dust-gold in the rivers that fall into the Sene, but it is much coarser than the other, though they bring it to Chepon-Goura and Sofala. The country is very healthy, and the people live as long as they do in Europe. Some

years there are Cafres that come from beyond the province of Monkaran, even as far as the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese have enquired after their country, and the name ; but they can tell no more, only that it is called Sabia, commanded by a King ; and that they are four months generally travelling to Sofala. The gold which they bring is very fine, and in pieces like that of Monomotopa, which they say they find in the high mountains, digging only ten or twelve feet in the ground. They also bring great quantities of elephant's teeth ; wherewith, by their report, the country does so abound, that you may see them in herds in the fields ; and that all the palisadoes of their fortresses, and the pales of their parks, are made of elephant's teeth. Their usual diet is elephant's flesh ; which four Cafres will kill with their *Ageagayes*, or a sort of half-pikes. The water of their country is very bad, which is the reason that their thighs are swelled, and it is a wonder to see any one of them free.

Beyond Sofala there is a country commanded by a King, who is called the King of Beroe. In some parts of his country there grows a root about an inch thick, and of a yellow colour. It heals all sorts of fevers, causing the patient to vomit. But because it grows very scarce, the King strictly forbids his subjects to export it. The taste of it is very bitter upon the tongue.

As for silver mines, there are none in all Asia but only in Japan ; but some years since, at Delegora, Sangora, Bordelon and Bata, have been discovered plentiful mines of tin, to the great damage of the English, there being now enough in Asia of their own besides.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The relation of a notable piece of treachery, whereby the author was abused when he embarked at Gomrom for Surat.

In the month of April 1665, being ready to depart from Gomrom for Surat, in a vessel that belonged to a Holland broker, commanded by a Holland Captain, the English Agent gave me a packet of letters to deliver to the president at Surat. The packet was large, containing not only the Company's letters, but several private letters to particular persons at Surat and other parts of India. This packet I received in the presence of one Casembrot, a Hollander, who informed another Dutchman, whose name was Wanwuck, of it. Thereupon they presently contrived a design to seize this packet, upon the report that ran of the rupture between England and Holland. Casembrot having seen the bigness of the packet, gives Wanwuck a description of it, and so both together they contrive another of the some form and bigness as near as they could. When I came aboard, I took the English packet, and locked it up in my *Bouccha*, which is the sort of cloak bag that is used in that country, and laid it behind my bolster. There were two shallops sent aboard us, wherein there were sixty bags of silver, containing some fifty, some a hundred Tomans a piece. These bags they unladed very leisurely to gain time, watching when I would be gone to bed. But when they saw that I did not go to rest, the Dutch consulted together, and agreed to let fall a bag of

Tomans into the sea ; and so came all aboard, sending away a shallop to Gomrom for a diver. When I found that the vessel would not set sail till two or three hours after day-light, I went to rest, my bouccha, lying in the same place, half out, and half within-side of my bolster : But when my servants were gone, and I alone and a sleep in the cabin, they cunningly stole my bouccha, took out the English packet, and left the other which they had counterfeited, in the place ; being only so many letters of blank paper. Coming to Surat the sixth of May following, I gave the packet, as I thought, which I had received from the English Agent at Gomrom, to two Capuchin Friars to deliver to the President at Surat. But when the President came to open the packet before several of the company, there was nothing but white paper made up in the form of letters ; which when I heard, too much to my sorrow, I understood the villainous trick that Wanwuck had put upon me. I wrote a smart letter of complaint to the Dutch General in Batavia, but finding no redress, was forced to undergo the hard censure of the English, who would not permit me to justify myself. However, as it is rare to see treachery go unpunished, the complotters all died miserably. Wauwuck fell into a violent fever, and being charged with the theft ; thinking to defend himself with an equivocation, that if he took the cloak bag, he wished he might die without speaking a word, in three days ended his life just in the same manner, and at the same time that he had imprecated upon himself. Bozan, his Lieutenant, after a great debauch, going to sleep upon the

terrace of the cabin, where he lay for coolness, (there being no balisters,) rolling and tumbling in his sleep, fell down, and the next day was found dead in the sea.

The Captain, four or five days after his arrival at Surat, being met in the street by a Mahometan, who was jealous of his wife, and being mistaken by him for one among several Franks, that had parted him, and kept him from correcting his wife some few days before, was stabbed by him in three or four places with a dagger, and killed him outright. And this was the end of those treacherous people.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

TAYERNIER'S TRAVELS IN INDIA.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

Of the particular religion of the Mahometans in the East Indies.

THE diversity of opinions among the Mahometans, does not consist in the different expositions which they put upon the *Alcoran*; but in the contrariety of belief which they received by tradition from the first successors of Mahomet. From thence there sprung two sects, directly opposite: the one, which is called the sect of the *Sounnis*, followed by the Turks; and the other of the *Chiais*, which is adhered to by the Persians. I will not enlarge myself upon these two sects, that divide all Mahometism; it being my design, only to tell you how the condition of that false religion stands in the empire of the Great Mogul, and in the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour.

When Mahometism was first brought into the Indies, there was an excess of pride, but no devotion among the Christians; and the idolaters were an effeminate people, able to make little resistance; so that it was easy for the Mahometans to subdue both the one and the other by force of arms, which they did so advantageously, that many,

as well Christians as idolaters, embraced the Mahometan religion.

The Great Mogul, with all his court, follows the sect of the *Sounnis*; the King of Golconda, that of the *Chias*. In the King of Visapour's territories the *Sounnis* and *Chiais* are mingled together; which may be said also of the court of the Great Mogul, in regard of the great numbers of Persians that flock thither to serve in his armies. True it is, that though they abhor the *Sounnis*, yet they adhere to the religion of the Prince; holding it lawful for the preservation of their estates to conceal their belief. As for what concerns the kingdom of Golconda, Koutoub-Cha, the present King, very zealously maintains the law of the *Chiais*; in regard the grandees of his court are almost all Persians.

Aureng-zeb testifies above all things an extraordinary devotion for the sect of the *Sounnis*; of which he is so zealous an observer, that he surpasses all his predecessors in outward profession; which was the cloak under which he usurped the crown. When he took possession of his throne, he gave it out that he did it only out of a design to cause the law of Mahomet to be more strictly observed, which had been very much neglected in the reign of Sha-jehan his father, and Gehan-guir his grandfather; and to show himself more zealous to the law, he turned *Faquir* or *Dervich*, that is, poor volunteer; and under that false pretence of piety he cunningly made way to the empire. And indeed though he has a great many Persians under his pay, yet he will not permit them to keep holy the day consecrated to the memory of Hosen and Lieussin, the

two sons of Ali, who were put to death by the *Sounnis*; besides that they, to please him, are willing enough to conform.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Faquirs, or poor Mahometan volunteers in the East Indies.

They reckon that there are in the Indies eight hundred thousand *Faquir*, and twelve hundred thousand idolaters; which is a prodigious number. They are all of them vagabonds, and lazy drones, that dazzle the eyes of the people with a false zeal, and make them believe that whatever comes out of their mouths is an oracle.

There are several sorts of Mahometan *Faquir*. The one sort go almost naked like the idolatrous *Faquir*, having no certain abode in the world, but giving themselves up to all manner of uncleanness. There are others whose garments are of so many different pieces and colours, that a man can hardly tell of what they are made. These garments reach down to the half leg, and hide the rags that are underneath. They go generally in troops; and have their superior of the gang, who is known by his garment, which is generally poorer, and consists of more patches than the other. Besides, that he draws after him a great iron chain, which is tied to his leg, and is about two ells long, and proportionably thick. When he says his

prayers, he does it with a loud voice, and rattling his chain all the while, which is accompanied with an affected gravity, that draws the veneration of the people. In the mean time the people prepare dinner for him and his company, in the place where he takes up his stand, which is usually in some street or public place. There he causes his disciples to spread certain carpets, where he sets himself down to give audience to the people. On the other side, the disciples go about publishing through the country the virtues of their master, and the favours he receives from God, who reveals his most important secrets to him, and gives him power to relieve persons in affliction by his counsel. The people, who give credit to him, and believe him to be a holy man, approach him with a great devotion, and when they come near him, they pull off their shoes, and prostrate themselves to kiss his feet. Then the *Faquir*, to shew his humility reaches out his hand to kiss ; that done, he causes them that come to consult him, to sit down by him, and hears every one apart. They boast themselves to have a prophetic spirit ; and above all to teach barren women a way how to have children, and to be beloved by whom they please.

There are some of these *Faquir* who have above two hundred disciples, or more, which they assemble together by the sound of a horn, or the beat of a drum. When they travel, they have their standard, lances, and other weapons which they pitch in the ground, near to their master, when he reposes in any place.

The third sort of East Indian *Faquir* are those

that being born of poor parents, and desirous to understand the law, to the end they may become *Moullahs* or doctors, retire to the Mosques, where they live upon the alms which is given them. They employ all their time in reading the *Alcoran*, which they get by heart ; and if they can but add to that study the knowledge of some natural things, and an exemplary life withal, they come to be chief of the Mosques, and to the dignity of moullahs, and judges of the law. Those faquirs have their wives ; and some, out of their great zeal to imitate Mahomet, have three or four ; thinking they do God great service in begetting many children to be followers of their laws.

CHAPTER III.

Of the religion of the Gentiles, or idolatrous Indians.

The idolaters among the Indians are so numerous, that they are reckoned to be five or six for one Mahometan. It seems a wonderful thing, that such a prodigious multitude of men should be cowed by a handful, and bow so easily under the yoke of the Mahometan Princes. But that wonder well may cease, when we consider that those idolaters are not in union among themselves ; for superstition has introduced such a diversity of opinions and customs, that they can never agree one with another. An idolater will not eat bread nor drink water in the house of any one that is

not of his caste; though it be more noble, and much more superior to his own. Yet they all eat and drink in the Bramins houses, which are open to all the world. A caste among the idolaters, is very near the same thing which was anciently called a tribe among the Jews. And though it be vulgarly believed, that there are seventy-two castes, yet I have been informed by some of their most ingenuous priests, that they may all be reduced into four principal ones, from whence all the rest drew their original.

The first caste is that of the *Bramins*, who are the successors of the ancient *Brachmans*, or Indian philosophers, that studied astrology. You may also meet with some of their ancient books, in reading whereof the Bramins spend all their time; and are so versed in their observations, that they never fail a minute in the eclipses of the sun and moon. And to preserve this knowledge among themselves they have a kind of university, in a city which is called Benarez, where they make all their exercises in astrology, and where they have doctors that expound their law, which they very strictly observe. But in regard they are so great a number, and cannot all come to study at that university, they are all very ignorantst, and consequently very superstitious; those that^{he} for the most refined wits, being the greatest sor^{tw}ers.

The second caste is that of the *Raspoutes* or *Ketrís*, that is to say, warriors and warlike people. These are the only idolatrous Indians that have any courage to signalize themselves in war. All the Rajahs that I have so often mentioned, are of

this caste. These are so many petty Kings, whom their disunion has rendered tributary to the Great Mogul. But in regard that the greatest part of them are in his service, they are highly recompensed by the large salaries they receive for the small tribute which they pay. These Rajahs, and the Raspoutes their subjects, are the chiefest support of the dominions of the Great Mogul; for indeed the Rajahs Jesseing and Jessomseing were those that lifted up Aureng-zēb to the throne. But you must take notice, that all of this second caste are not warriors; for they are the Raspoutes only that go to war, and are all horsemen. But for the Ketris, they are degenerated from their ancestors, and of soldiers are become merchants.

The third caste is that of the *Bannians*, who are altogether addicted to trade; of whom some are sheraffs or bankers, others brokers, employed between merchant and merchant for buying and selling. Those of this caste are so subtile and nimble in trade, that as I have said before, the Jews may be their prentices. They accustom their children betimes to fly idleness. And instead of suffering them to lose their time in playing in the streets, as we generally do, they teach them arithmetic; which they are so perfect at, that without making use either of pen or ink, or counters, but only of their memories, they will in a moment cast up the most difficult account that can be imagined. They always live with their fathers, who instruct them in trade, and do nothing but what they show them. If any man in the heat of passion chafe at them, they hear him patiently without making any reply, and

parting coldly from him, will not see him again in three or four days, when they think his passion may be over. They never eat any thing that has life; nay they would rather die, than kill the smallest animal or vermin that crawls; being in that point above all things the most zealous observers of the law. They never fight, nor go to war; neither will they eat or drink in the house of a Raspoute, because they kill the victuals they eat, all but cows, which they never touch.

The fourth caste is that of the *Charados* or *Soudras*; who go to war as well as the Raspoutes, but with this difference, that the Raspoutes serve on horseback, and the Charados on foot. Both of them take it for an honour to die in battle; and let him be horse or foot, that soldier is accounted infamous that retreats in fight; it is an eternal blot in his family, upon which subject I will tell you a story. A soldier who was passionately in love with his wife, and reciprocally beloved by her, had fled from the fight, not so much out of any fear of death, as out of a consideration of the grief which it would occasion to his wife, should he leave her a widow. When she knew the reason of his flight, as soon as he came to the door, she shut it against him, and ordered him to be told, that she could never acknowledge that man for a husband, who had preferred the love of a woman before his honour; that she did not desire to see him any more, as being a stain to the reputation of her family; and that she would endeavour to teach her children to have more courage than their father. The wife continuing firm to her resolution, the husband, to regain

his honour and her affection, returned to the army, where he so behaved himself, that he became famous ; and having highly made amends for his cowardice, the door of his house was again set open, and his wife received him with her former kindness.

The rest of the natives, that are not reckoned in the number of these castes, are called *Pauze-cour*. These are such as employ themselves in handicraft trades ; among which there is no other distinction, but according to the trades which they follow from father to son. So that a tailor cannot prefer his son, but only in his own calling, though he be never so rich ; nor marry either a son or daughter, but to one of his own craft. By the same rule, when a tailor dies, all those of his own trade accompany the corpse to the place where it is burnt : and the same practice is observed in all other trades.

Among the particular castes, there is one that goes by the name of *Alacors*, whose employment is only to clean houses ; for which every family pays him something once a month, according to their proportion and quality. If a person of quality in the Indies keeps fifty servants, let him be Mahometan or idolater, there is not one of them will take a besom in his hand to sweep the house ; for he would think himself affronted, it being one of the greatest scorns you can put upon an Indian, to call him *Alacar*. Besides, every one of those servants knows his business ; whether it be to carry the pot of water to drink by the way, or to give his master his pipe of tobacco when he calls for it ; so that if the master should bid one to do that which the other was appointed

to do, that servant would stand like a statue, and never make him any answer. But for the slaves, they are obliged to do whatever the master commands them. These Alacors having no other business but only to make clean the houses, eat the scraps of all other castes; and so without scruple feed upon anything. There are none but those of this tribe make use of asses, to carry away the filth of the houses into the field; for which reason none of the rest of the Indians will so much as touch that animal; which is quite otherwise in Persia, as well for carriage, as to ride upon. Moreover, there are none of the other Indians, except the Alacors that will eat.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Kings and idolatrous Princes of Asia.

The chiefest of the idolatrous Kings of Asia, are the King of Aracan, the King of Pegu, the King of Siam, the King of Cochinchina, and the King of Tunquin. As for the King of China, we know that he was an idolater before the Tartars invaded his dominions. But since that, we know not what to report of certainty, in regard that the Tartars who are now masters of the country, are neither idolaters nor Mahometans, but rather both together. In the islands, the King of Japan, the King of Ceylon, and some petty Kings of the Molucca islands are idolaters; as are all the Rajahs

as well in the empire of the Great Mogul, as in the neighbouring kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda. In a word, all the meaner sort of people, as well in the territories of the Great Mogul, Kings of Golconda and Visapour, as in the isles of Achan, Java, and Macassar, though their Kings are Mahometans, are all themselves idolaters.

Some fifty years ago, one of the Kings of Ceylon became a Christian, and was baptized by the name of John, being called before the Emperor Priapender. But as soon as he had embraced the Christian faith, the princes and priests of the country set up another King in his room. He endeavoured all he could to bring his people to follow his example; to which purpose he assigned to the Father Jesuits, twelve large villages about Colombo, for the bringing up the youth of the country in their colleges; to the end that they being well instructed, might instruct others. For the King made it plain to the Jesuits, that it was impossible for them so well to understand the language of the country, as to be able to preach to the natives. Besides, that they found the ingenuities of the youth of Ceylon so quick and apprehensive, that they learnt more Latin, philosophy, and other sciences in six months, than the Europeans learnt in a year; and that they put such subtle questions to their masters, as were beyond imagination.

Some years after the King had professed Christianity, a witty man of the island of Ceylon, and a good natural philosopher, whose name was Alegamme, Motiar, or the master of the philosophers, after he had conversed with the Jesuits and other

religious persons, was inspired to turn Christian. Thereupon he went to the Jesuits, and told them, that he desired to be a Christian; but withal he was very earnest to know what Jesus Christ had done, and left in writing. They gave him the New Testament, which he set himself to read with that heed and study, that in less than six months there was hardly a passage which he could not repeat. After that he again testified to the Jesuits and other religious persons, that he had a great desire to turn Christian, in regard he found their religion to be such as Jesus Christ had taught; but only he wondered that they themselves did not follow his example. For that he could never find by his reading, that Jesus Christ ever took any money of anybody; but that they took all they could get, and never baptized nor buried unless they were well paid. But though he started the question, he was baptized, and afterwards became a sedulous converter of others.

CHAPTER V.

What the idolaters believe touching a divinity.

Though the idolatrous Indians attribute to the creature, as to cows, apes, and several monsters, those divine honours which are only due to the true deity; yet they acknowledge one only infinite God, almighty, and only wise, the creator of heaven and earth, who fills all places with his presence.

They call him in some places *Permesser*, in others *Peremael*, and *Westnon* among the Bramins that inhabit the coast of Coromandel. It may be, because they have heard that the circle is the most perfect of all figures, therefore it is that they say God is of an oval figure; for they have in all their pagods an oval flintstone, which they fetch from Ganges, and worship as a God. They are so obstinately wedded to this foolish imagination that the wisest among the Bramins will not so much as hear any argument to the contrary. So that it is no wonder that a people led by such blind guides, should fall into such abysses of idolatry. There is one tribe so superstitious, in reference to that article, that they carry those oval flints about their necks, and beat them against their breasts, when they are at their devotions. In this dark and lamentable mist of ignorance, these idolaters make their gods to be born like men, and assign them wives, imagining that theirs are the pleasures of men. Thus they take their Ram for a great deity, in regard of the miracles which they believe he wrought while he lived upon earth. Ram was the son of a potent Raja, who was called by the name of Deseret, and the most virtuous of all his children, which he had by two lawful wives. He was particular beloved by his father, who designed him to be his successor. But the mother of Ram being dead, the Raja's other wife, who had her husband entirely at her back, prevailed with him to exterminate Ram and his brother Lokeman from his house, and all his territories; upon whose exclusion the son of that wife was declared the Raja's successor. As the

two brothers were about to be gone, Ram's wife Sita, of whom he went to take his leave, and whom the idolaters worship as a goddess, begged of him that she might not leave him, having made a resolution never to forsake him; whereupon they all three went together to seek their fortunes. They were not very successful at first; for as they passed through a wood, Ram being in pursuit of a bird, strayed from the company, and was missing a long time; insomuch that Sita fearing that some disaster was befallen him, besought Lokeman to look after him. He excused himself at first, by reason that Ram had obliged him never to leave Sita alone, foreseeing by a prophetic spirit what would befall her, should she be left to herself. Nevertheless Lokeman being overpersuaded by the prayers of his fair sister, went to seek for Ram his brother; but in the meantime Rhevan another of the idolaters' gods, appeared to Sita in the shape of a *Faquir*, and begged an alms of her. Now Ram had ordered Sita, that she should not stir out of the place where he left her; which Rhevan well knowing, would not receive the alms which Sita presented him, unless she would remove to another place; which when Sita had done, either out of negligence or forgetfulness, Rhevan seized upon her, and carried her into the thick of the wood, where his train stayed for him. Ram at his return missing Sita, fell into a swoon for grief, but being brought again to himself by his brother Lokeman, they two immediately went together in search of Sita, who was so dearly beloved by her husband.

When the Bramins repeat this rape of their

goddess, they do it with tears in their eyes, and great demonstrations of sorrow ; adding upon this subject, an infinite company of fables more ridiculous, to show the great courage of Ram in pursuit of the ravisher. They employed all creatures living upon the discovery ; but none of them had the luck to succeed, only the monkey called Harman. He crossed over the sea at one leap, and coming into Rhevan's gardens, found Sita in the extremity of affliction ; and very much surprized to hear an ape speak to her in her husband's behalf. At first she would not give any credit to such an ambassador ; but the ape, to shew that his commission was authentic, presents her with a ring which her husband had given her, and that she had left behind her among her furniture. She could hardly however believe so great a miracle, as that Ram her husband should make a beast speak, to bring her the news of his health, and to testify as he did the marks of his affection. But the ape Harman wrought miracles himself, for being taken for a spy by some of Rhevan's servants, who therefore would have burnt him, he made use of the fire which they had prepared to burn him, to set Rhevan's palace on fire, which he almost consumed to the ground, with all the tatters and rags which were tied to his tail and his body. When the ape had thus done, the better to escape out of Rhevan's hands, he took the same way he came, and repassing the sea again at one jump, he came and gave Ram an account of his adventures ; and told him in what a sorrowful condition he had found Sita, who did nothing but mourn by reason of her absence from her husband. Ram touched

with his wife's affection, resolved to deliver her out of Rhevan's hands, whatever it cost him ; whereupon he raised forces, and being guided by the ape, at length he came to Rhevan's palace, that still smoked, the fire had been so great ; and by reason that Rhevan's servants were dispersed, Ram had an easy opportunity to see his beloved Sita again, whom Rhevan abandoned wholly to him, flying for fear to the mountains. Ram and Sita were infinitely overjoyed at their coming together again, and returned very great honours to Harman, who had done him so great service.

As for Rhevan, he spent all the rest of his days like a poor *Faquir*, seeing his country ruined by Ram's troops, who was resolved to be revenged for the injury which he had received ; and from this Rhevan it was, from whence that infinite multitude of *Faquirs*, that swarm all over India, first took their original.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Faquirs, or poor volunteers among the Indians, and of their penances.

The original of the *Faquirs*, as I said before, came from that Rhevan, whom Ram dispoiled of his kingdom ; at which he conceived such an unspeakable sorrow, that he resolved to lead a vagabond life, and to wander about the world, poor, stript of all, and in a manner quite naked. He

found enough to follow him in a course of life that gives them so much liberty. For being worshipped as saints, they have in their hands all opportunities of doing evil.

These *Faquirs* wander generally in troops, every one of which has a superior. And in regard they are quite naked, winter and summer lying upon the hard ground, when it is cold, the young *Faquirs*, and others that are most devout, go in the afternoon to seek for the dungs of cows and other creatures, of which they make their fires. They rarely burn wood, for fear of killing any living animal which is wont to breed in it; and therefore the wood wherewith they burn their dead, is only such as has floated long in the water, which never breeds in any sort of living creature. The young *Faquirs* having got together a good quantity of dung, mixed with dry turf, make several fires, according to the bigness of the company; round about every one of which the *Faquirs* seat themselves. When they grow sleepy, they lay themselves upon the ground, spreading the ashes abroad which serve them for a mattress; without any other canopy than that of heaven.

As for the *Faquirs*, that do penance, when they are laid down in the same posture as you see them in the day time, they kindle a good fire on each side of them, for otherwise they would not be able to endure the cold. The rich idolaters account themselves happy, and their houses to be filled with the benedictions of heaven, when they have any of these *Faquirs* for their guests, which the more austere they are, the more they

honour : and it is the glory of the troop to have one among them that does some considerable act of penance.

The crews of *Faquirs* many time join together to go in pilgrimage to the principal pagods, and public washings, which they use upon certain days in the year in the river Ganges, whereof they make the chiefest account ; as also in that which separates the territories of the Portugals of Goa from the dominions of the King of Visapour, Some of the most austere *Faquirs* live in little pitiful huts near their pagods, where they have once in four and twenty hours something to eat bestowed upon them for god's sake. The tree whereof I have given the description, is of the same sort as that which grows near Gomron, which I have described in my Persian relations. The Franks call it the Bannians-tree, because in those places where those trees grow, the idolaters always take up their quarters, and dress their victuals under them. They have those trees in great reverence, and oft-times build their pagods either under or very near them. That which the reader sees here described, grows at Surat ; in the trunk whereof, which is hollow, is the figure of a monster, representing the face of a deformed woman, which they say was the first woman, whose name was Mamaniva ; thither great numbers of idolaters every day resort : near to which there is some Bramin or other always appointed to be ready to say prayers, and receive the alms of rice, millet, and other grains which the charitable bestow upon them. The Bramin marks the forehead of all, both men and women, that come to pray

in the pagod, with a kind of vermillion, wherewith he also besmears the idol ; for being thus marked, they believe the evil spirit cannot hurt them, as being then under the protection of their God.

Number 1, is that part where the Bramins paint their idols ; such as Mamaniva, Sita, Made-dina, and others ; whereof they have a great number.

Numb. 2, is the figure of Mamaniva, which is in the pagod.

Numb. 3, is another pagod near the former. There stands a cow at the door, and within stands the figure of their God Ram.

Numb. 4, is another pagod, into which the *Faquirs*, that do penance, often retire.

Numb. 5, is another pagod dedicated to Ram.

Numb. 6, is a hut into which a *Faquir* makes his retirement several times a year, there being but one hole to let in the light. He stays there according to the height of his devotion, sometimes nine or ten days together, without either eating or drinking ; a thing which I could not have believed, had I not seen it. My curiosity carried me to see one of those penitents, which the President of the Dutch-Company, who set a spy to watch night and day whether anybody brought him any victuals. But he could not discover any relief the *Faquir* had, all the while sitting upon his bum like our tailors, never changing his posture above seven days together, not being able to hold out any longer, by reason the heat and stench of the lamp was ready to stifle him. Their other sorts of penance out-doing this, might be thought incredible, were there not so many thousand witnesses thereof.

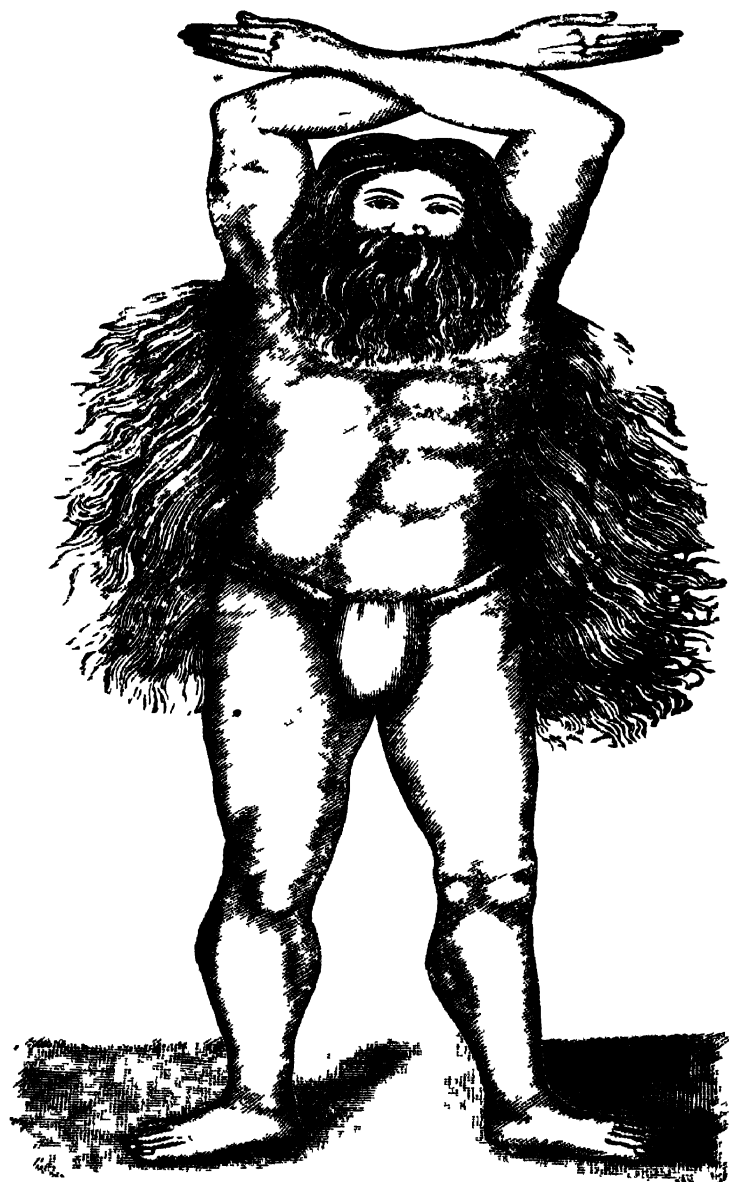
Numb. 7, is the figure of another penitentiary, over whose head several years have past; and yet he never slept day nor night. When he finds himself sleepy, he hangs the weight of the upper part of his body upon a double-rope that is fastened to one of the boughs of the tree; and by the continuance of this posture, which is very strange and painful, there falls a humour into their legs that swells them very much.

Numb. 8, is the figure of two postures of two doing penance; who, as long as they live, carry their arms above their heads in that manner; which causes certain carnosities to breed in the joynts, that they can never bring them down again. Their hair grows down to their waists, and their nails are as long as their fingers. Night and day, winter and summer they go always stark naked in the same posture, exposed to the heat and rain, and the stinging of the flies; from which they have not the use of their hands to rid themselves. In other necessities they have other *Faquirs* in their company always ready to assist them.

Numb. 9, is the posture of another penitent, who every day for several hours stands upon one foot, holding a chasing-dish in his hand, into which he pours incense, as an offering to his God, fixing his eyes all the while upon the sun.

Numb. 10 and 11, are the figures of two other penitents sitting with their hands raised above their heads in the air.

Numb. 12, is the posture wherein the penitents sleep, without ever resting their arms; which is certainly one of the greatest torments the body of man can suffer.



The figure of a Penitent as they are represented in little under the Baman's great tree.

Numb. 13, is the posture of a penitent, whose arms, through weakness, hang flagging down upon his shoulders, being dried up for want of nourishment.

There are an infinite number of other penitents; some who in a posture quite contrary to the motion and frame of nature, keep their eyes always turned toward the sun. Others who fix their eyes perpetually upon the ground, never so much as speaking one word, or looking any person in the face. And indeed there is such an infinite variety of them, that would render the further discourse of them more tedious.

True it is, that I have hid those parts which modesty will not suffer to be exposed to view. But they both in city and country go all as naked as they came out of their mother's wombs; and though the women approach them to take them by the finger's ends, and to kiss those parts which modesty forbids to name; yet shall you not observe in them any motion of sensuality; rather quite contrary, seeing them never to look upon any person, but rolling their eyes in a most frightful manner, you would believe them in an ecstasy.

CHAPTER.VII.

Of the Idolater's belief touching the state of the soul after death.

It is an article of the idolater's faith, that the souls of men departing out of the body, are presented to God; who according to the lives which they lead;

orders them another body to inhabit. So that one and the same person is born several times into the world. And that as for the souls of wicked and vicious persons, God disposes them into the bodies of contemptible beasts, such as asses, dogs, cats, and the like ; to do penance for their crimes in those infamous prisons. But they believe that those souls that enter into cows are happy ; presuming that there is a divinity in those creatures. For if a man die with a cow's tail in his hand, they say it is enough to render him happy in the other world.

The idolaters believing thus the transmigration of the souls of men into the bodies of other creatures, they abhor to kill any creature whatever, for fear they should be guilty of the death of some of their kindred or friends doing penance in those bodies.

If the men in their lifetime are famous for their virtuous deeds, they hold that their souls pass into the bodies of some potent Raja's : where they enjoy the pleasures of this life in those bodies, as the reward of those good works which they did.

This is the reason why the *Faquirs* put themselves to such horrible penances. But because that all are not able to endure so much torment in this world, they labour to supply the defect of that cruel penance by good works. And besides, they charge their heirs in their wills to give alms to the Bramins, to the end that by the powerful effect of their prayers, their God may assign them the body of some noble personage.

In January 1661, the broker belonging to

the Holland Company, whose name was Mondas-Parek, died at Surat. He was a rich man, and very charitable, giving his alms very liberally as well to the Christians as to the idolaters; the Capuchins at Surat living one part of the year upon the rice, butter and pulse which he sent them. This Banian was not sick above four or five days; during all which time, and for eight days more after he was dead, his brothers distributed nine or ten thousand roupies; and in the burning of his body they mixed sandal-wood, and Lignum-Aloes, with the ordinary wood, believing that by that means the soul of their brother transmigrating into another body, he would come to be some great lord in another country. There are some that are such fools that they bury their treasure in their lifetime, as it is the usual custom of all the rich men in the kingdom of Asen; to the end that if they should be condemned to the body of some poor miserable person, they might have wherewithal to supply their necessities. I remember one day that I bought in India an agate cup half a foot high; he that sold it me, assured me that it had been buried underground above 40 years, and that he kept it to serve his occasions after death; but that it was to him a thing indifferent whether he buried his cup or his money. In my last voyage I bought of one of these idolaters sixty-two diamonds of about six grains apiece; and while I was wondering to see so fair a parcel, he told me I needed not to wonder; for he had been fifty years getting them together, to serve him after his

death, but that having occasion for money, he was forced to part with them. This buried treasure stood the Raja Seva-Gi in great stead, when he took arms against the Great Mogul, and the King of Visapour. For that Raja having taken Callian Biondi, a small city in the kingdom of Visapour, by the advice of the Bramins, who assured him he should find great store of treasure buried, caused the greatest part thereof to be demolished; and found so much wealth, as to maintain his army, which was above thirty thousand men. It is impossible to convince these poor idolaters of their errors; in regard they will hear no reason, but submit themselves altogether to their old forms and customs.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the custom among the idolaters to burn the bodies of their dead.

The custom of burning the bodies of the dead is very ancient among the gentiles; which ceremony they most commonly perform by the banks of rivers, where they wash the dead; which is the last purgation of them from their sins. Nay, their superstition is so great sometimes, that they will carry the sick person, death approaching, to the bank of some river or pond, and put his feet in the water. As nature fails, they dip him deeper and deeper, till at length they hold him expiring up to the chin in the river: to the

end that the same time that the soul departs out of the body, both body and soul may be cleansed from all defilement ; and then plunging the newly dead body over head and ears, they bring it out, and burn it in the place appointed ; which is generally near some pagod. There are some persons that make it their business to fetch wood, and agree what they shall have for their pains. An idolater being dead, all those of his caste or tribe assemble together at the house of the deceased, and laying the body upon a bier covered with clean fine linen according to his quality and estate, they follow the bier, which is carried by such as are appointed for that purpose to the place where the body is to be burned. As they go along they sing certain prayers to their God, pronouncing several times the words Ram, Ram, while another going before the bier, sounds a little bell, to advertize the living to pray for the dead. The body being set down by the bank of the river or pond, they first plunge it into the water, and then they burn it. According to the quality of the deceased they also mingle with the ordinary wood, sandal-wood, and other sweet-woods. But the idolaters do not only burn the bodies of the dead, but the bodies of the living. They scruple to kill a serpent, or a louse, but account it a meritorious thing to burn a living wife with the body of the deceased husband.

CHAPTER IX.

How the wives are burnt in India with the bodies of their deceased husbands.

It is also an ancient custom among the Indians, that the husband happening to die, the wife can never marry again. So that as soon as the man is dead, the wife retires to bewail her husband ; some days after that, they shave off her hair ; she lays aside all the ornaments of her apparel ; she takes off from her arms and legs the bracelets which her husband put on when he espoused her, in token of her submission, and her being chained to him : and all the rest of her life she lives slighted and despised, and in a worse condition than a slave in the very house where she was mistress before. This unfortunate condition cause them to hate life, so that they rather choose to be buried alive with the body of their deceased husbands, than to live in the scorn and contempt of the world. Besides that, the Bramins make them believe, that in dying after that manner, they shall revive again, with him in another world, with more honour and more advantages than they enjoyed before. These are the motives that persuade the women to burn with their husbands ; besides that, the priests flatter them with a hope, that while they are in the midst of the flames, before they expire, Ram will appear, and reveal wonderful visions to them ; and that after their souls have transmigrated into various bodies, they shall at length obtain a high degree of honour to eternity.

However, there is no woman that can burn her husband's body, till she has the leave of the Governor of the place where she inhabits, who being a Mahumetan, and abhorring that execrable custom of self-murder, is very shy to permit them. Besides, there are none but widows that have no children, that lie under the reproach that forces them to violent death. For as for the widows that have children, they are by no means permitted to burn themselves; but quite the contrary, they are commanded to live for the education of the children. Those women whom the Governour will not permit to burn themselves, spend the rest of their lives in doing penance, and performing works of charity. Some make it their business to sit upon the road to boil certain pulse in water, and to give the liquor to travellers to drink. Others sit with fire always ready for them to light their tobacco. Others make vows to eat nothing but the undigested grains which they find in cowdung.

The Governor finding no persuasions will alter the woman's resolution, but more especially perceiving by the sign which his secretary makes him, that he had received the coin, in a surly manner gives the woman leave, bidding the devil take her and all her kindred.

When they have got this leave, their music begins to strike up, and away they ding to the house of the deceased, with drums beating, and flutes playing before them; and in that manner they accompany the person that is to be burnt, to the place appointed. All the kindred and friends, of the widow that is to die, come to her, and

congratulate her for the happiness she is to enjoy in the other world : and for the honour which the caste she is of receives by her generous resolution, she dresses herself as she were going to be married, and she is conducted in triumph to the place of execution. For the noise is loud of musical instruments, and women's voices, that follow her singing songs in honour of the miserable creature that is going to die. The Bramins that accompany her, exhort her to give public testimonies of her constancy and courage : and many of our Europeans are of opinion, that to take away the fears of death, which naturally terrifies humanity, the priests do give her a certain beverage to stupify and disorder the senses, which takes from her all apprehension of her preparations for death. It is for the Bramins interest that the poor miserable creatures should continue in their resolutions ; for all their bracelets as well about their legs as their arms, the pendants in their ears ; their rings sometimes of gold, sometimes of silver ; (for the poor wear only copper and tin,) all these belong to the Bramins, who take for them among the ashes when the party is burned.

I have seen women burnt after three several manners, according to the difference of the country. In the kingdom of Guzerat, as far as Agra and Dehli, they set up a little hut above twelve foot square upon the bank of a pond or river. It is made of reeds, and all sorts of small wood, with which they mingle certain pots of oil and other drugs to make it burn more vehemently. The woman is placed in the middle of the hut, in a

half-lying-down posture, leaning her head upon a kind of wooden bolster, and resting her back against a pillar, to which the Bramin ties her about the middle, for fear she should run away when she feels the fire. In this posture she holds the body of her deceased husband upon her knees, chewing betel all the while : and when she has continued in this posture about half an hour, the Bramin goes out, and the woman bids them set fire to the hut ; which is immediately done by the Bramins, and the kindred and friends of the woman ; who also cast several pots of oil into the fire, to put the woman the sooner out of her pain. After the woman is burnt, the Bramins search the ashes for all her bracelets, pendants and rings, whether gold, silver, copper or tin, which is all free booty to themselves.

In Bengala they burn the woman after another fashion. In that country a woman must be very poor that does not accompany the body of her deceased husband to the Ganges to wash his body, and to be washed herself before she is burnt. I have seen dead carcasses brought to the Ganges above twenty days' journey off from the place, and smelt them to boot ; for the scent of them has been intolerably noisome. There was one that came from the northern mountains near the frontiers of the kingdom of Boutan, with the body of her husband carried in a waggon ; she travelled twenty days a-foot, and neither eat nor drank for 15 or 16 days together till she came to the Ganges, where after she had washed the body that stank abominably, and had afterwards washed herself, she was burnt with him with an admirable constancy. Before

the woman that is to be burnt, goes the music, consisting of drums, flutes and hautboys, whom the woman in her best accoutrements follows, dancing up to the very funeral-pile, upon which she gets up, and places herself as if she were sitting up in her bed ; and then they lay across her the body of her husband. When that is done, her kindred and friends, some bring her a letter, some a piece of calicut, another pieces of silver or copper, and desire her to deliver them to their mother, or brother, or some other kinsman or friend. When the woman sees they have all done, she asks the standers-by three times, if they have nothing more of service to command her ; if they make no answer, she ties up all she has got in a piece of taffata, which she puts between her own belly, and the body of her husband, bidding them to set fire to the pile ; which is presently done by the Bramins and her kindred. I have observed, because there is scarcity of wood in Bengala, that when these poor creatures are half griddled, they cast their bodies into the Ganges, where the remains are devoured by the crocodiles.

I must not forget a wicked custom practised by the idolaters of Bengala. When a woman is brought to bed, and the child will not take to the teat, they carry it out of the village, and putting it into a linen cloth, which they fasten by the four corners to the boughs of a tree, they there leave it from morning till evening. By this means the poor infant is exposed to be tormented by the crows, insomuch that there are some who have their eyes picked out of their heads : which is the reason that in Bengala you shall see many of

these idolaters that have but one eye, and some that have lost both. In the evening they fetch the child away, to try whether he will suck the next night; and if he still refuse the teat, they carry him again to the same place next morning; which they do for three days together; after which, if the infant after that refuses to suck, they believe him to be a devil, and throw him into Ganges, or any the next pond or river. In the places where the apes breed, these poor infants are not so exposed to the crows; for where the ape discovers a nest of those birds, he climbs the tree, and throws the nest one way and the eggs another. Sometimes some charitable people among the English, Hollanders, and Portugals, compassionating the misfortune of those children, will take them away from the tree, and give them good education. •

All along the coast of Cormandel, when the women are to be burnt with their husbands, they make a great hole in the ground nine or ten feet deep, and twenty-five or thirty feet square, into which they throw a great quantity of wood and drugs to make the fire burn more fiercely. When the fire is kindled, they set the body of the man upon the brink; and then presently up comes the woman dancing and chewing betel; accompanied by her friends and kindred, with drums beating, and flutes sounding. Then the woman takes three turns round the hole, and every time she has gone the round, she kisses her friends and kindred. After the third time the Bramins cast the carcass of her husband into the flame; and the woman standing with her back to the fire, is pushed in by the Bramins also, and

tumbles backward. Then her kindred and friends cast oil and other combustible drugs upon the fire, to make it burn more vehemently, that the bodies may be the sooner consumed.

In most places upon the coast of Cormandel, the women are not burnt with their deceased husbands, but they are buried alive with them in holes which the Bramins make a foot deeper than the tallness of the man and woman. Usually they choose a sandy place ; so that when the man and woman are both let down together, all the company with baskets of sand fill up the hole above half a foot higher than the surface of the ground, after which they jump and dance upon it, till they believe the woman to be stifled.

When some of the idolaters upon the coast of Cormandel are upon the point of death, their friends do not carry them to the side of a river or lake to cleanse their souls, but they carry them to the fattest cow they can find ; and laying the sick party just behind the cow, they lift up her tail, and provoke her to piss. If she piss, so that it falls on the face of the sick party, all the company are overjoyed, saying, that his soul is happy. But if the cow do not piss, to wash the sick party's face, they burn him with a great deal of sadness. If a cow be sick, the owner must be careful to lead her to a pond or river ; for should she die at his house, the Bramins would fine him.

CHAPTER X.

Remarkable story of women that have been burnt after their husbands' decease.

The Rajah of Velou having lost his city and his life, through the loss of a battle gained against him by the King of Visapour's General, he was extremely lamented at court. Eleven of his wives also were no less concerned for his death, and resolved to be burnt when his body was burned. The General of Visapour's army understanding their resolution thought at first to divert them, by promising them all kind usage. But finding persuasions would not prevail, he ordered them to be shut up in a room. He who had the order, going to put it in execution, the women in a rage told him, that 'twas to no purpose to keep them prisoners, for if they might not have leave to do what they had resolved, in three hours there would not one of them be alive. The person entrusted, laughed at their threats; but the keeper of those women opening the door at the end of the three hours, found them all stretched out dead upon the place, without any mark in the world to be seen that they had any way hastened their own deaths.

Two of the most potent Rajahs of India came to Agra in the year 1642, to do homage to Shah-jehan, who then reigned; who not having acquitted themselves as they ought to have done, in the judgment of the grand-master of the King's household, he told one of the Rajahs one day, in the presence of the King, that they had not done well,

to behave themselves in that manner toward so great a monarch, as was the King his master. The Rajah looking upon himself to be a great King, and a great Prince, he and his brother having brought along with them a train of 15 or 16,000 thousand horse, was nettled at the bold reproach which the grand-master gave him, and drawing out his dagger, slew him upon the place, in the presence of the King. The grand-master falling at the feet of his own brother, who stood close by him, he was going about to revenge his death, but was prevented by the Rajah's brother, who stabbed him, and laid him athwart his brother's body. The King, who beheld these two murders one upon the neck of the other, retired into his harem for fear. But presently the Omrahs and other people fell upon the Rajahs and cut them to pieces. The King incensed at such an attempt committed in his house and in his presence, commanded the Rajahs' bodies to be thrown into the river; which their troops that they had left about Agra understanding, threatened to enter the city and pillage it. But rather than hazard the city, the King was advised to deliver them the bodies of their Princes. When they were to be burned, thirteen women belonging to the two Rajahs' houses, came dancing and leaping, and presently got upon the funeral pile, holding one another by the hands, and being presently after stifled with the smoke, fell together into the fire. Presently the Bramins threw great heaps of wood, pots of oil, and other combustible matter upon them, to dispatch them the sooner.

I observed a strange passage at Patna, being then with the Governor, a young gentleman of

about twenty-four years of age, in his own house. While I was with him, in came a young woman, very handsome, and not above two and twenty years old, who desired leave of the Governor to be burnt with the body of her deceased husband. The Governor compassionating her youth and beauty, endeavoured to divert her from her resolution ; but finding he could not prevail, with a surly countenance, he asked her whether she understood what the torment of fire was, and whether she had ever burnt her fingers ? No, no, answered she more stoutly than before, I do not fear fire, and to let you know as much, send for a lighted torch, hither. The Governor abominating her answer, in great passion bid her go to the devil. Some young lords that were with the Governor, desired him to try the woman, and to call for a torch ; which with much ado he did, and a lighted torch was brought. So soon as the woman saw the lighted torch coming, she ran to meet it, and held her hand in the flame, not altering her countenance in the least ; still searing her arm along up to the very elbow, till her flesh looked as if it had been broiled ; whereupon the Governor commanded her out of his sight.

A Bramin coming to Patna, and assembling all his tribe together, told them, that they must give him two thousand roupies, and twenty-seven ells of calicut. To which the chief among them made him answer, that they were poor, and could not possibly raise such a sum. However he persisted in his demand, positively affirming to them, that he would stay there without eating or drinking till they brought him the money and the cloth.

With this resolution he climbed a tree, and sitting in the fork between the boughs, remained there without eating or drinking for several days. The noise of this extravagance coming to the ears of the Hollanders where we lay, we set sentinels to watch whether it were true, that a man could sit so long without victuals, which he did for thirty days together. The one and thirtieth day of such an extraordinary fast, the idolaters fearing to kill one of their priests for want of granting him his demand, clubbed together, and brought him his twenty-seven ells of calicut, and two thousand roupies. So soon as the Bramin saw the money and the cloth, he came down from the tree; and after he had upbraided those of his tribe for want of charity, he distributed all the roupies among the poor, reserving only five or six for himself. The cloth he cut into little pieces, and gave away, keeping only to himself enough to cover his own nakedness; and having made this distribution, he disappeared of a sudden, and no body knew what became of him, though dilligent search was made after him.

When a Chinese lies at the point of death, all his kindred and friends gather about him, and ask him whither he intends to go; they tell him also, that if he want anything, he need but only ask and have, let it be gold, silver, or a woman. When they are dead they perform many ceremonies at their funerals, which consists chiefly in artificial fires, wherein the Chinese are the most expert in the world; so that he must be a very poor man that has no fire-works at his funeral. Besides that, they put money in a little box, and

bury it by the deceased ; and leave good store of victuals upon the grave, out of an opinion that they rise and eat. Which the soldiers of Batavia observing, used to fill their bellies at these graves every time they walked their rounds. But when the Chinese perceived it, they poisoned the victuals to spoil the Dutchmen's feasting. The townsmen of Batavia taking the soldiers' part, accused the Chinese for poisoning several of the Dutch. But. the Chinese pleaded, that if the soldiers had over-eat themselves, or surfeited themselves upon what was left for the dead to eat, 'twas none of their fault ; for that they did not leave their victuals for the soldiers ; and besides that, among all the multitudes which they had buried, they never had heard the least complaint before of any one that ever came by any harm by eating. their food. Thus the business was hushed over ; nor did the soldiers dare to pilfer any more.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the most celebrated pagods of the idolaters in India.

The Indian idolaters have a great number of temples, small and great which they call pagods, where they pray to their gods, and make their offerings. But the poor people that live in the woods and mountains, and remote from towns, are contented only with some stone, whereon they make a rude kind of nose, and paint it

with some vermillion colour, which serves all the whole neighbourhood to worship.

The four most celebrated pagods, are Jagrenate Banarous, Matura, and Tripeti.

Jagrenate is one of the mouths of Ganges, whereupon is built the great pagod, where the arch Bramin, or chief priest among the idolaters keeps his residence. The great idol that stands upon the altar in the innermost part of the pagod, has two diamonds for his eyes, and another that hangs about his neck, the least of those diamonds weighing about forty carats. About his arms he wears bracelets sometimes of pearls, and sometimes of rubies; and this magnificent idol is called *Re-sora*. The revenues of this pagod are sufficient to feed fifteen or twenty thousand pilgrims every day; which is a number often seen there, that pagod being the greatest place of devotion in all India. But you must take notice, that no goldsmith is suffered to enter this pagod, because that one of them being locked in all night long, stole a diamond out of one of the idol's eyes. As he was about to go out, when the pagod was opened in the morning, he died at the door; their God, as they affirm, revenging his own sacrilege. That which renders this pagod, which is a large building the most considerable in all India, is, because it is situated upon the Ganges; the idolaters believing that the waters of that river have a particular quality to cleanse them from their sins. That which makes it so rich (for it maintains above twenty thousand cows) is the vast alms that are continually bestowed by so incredible a multitude as comes from all parts. Which alms are

not so much as at the discretion of the donor, at the will of the chief priest, who before he gives them leave to shave and wash in Ganges, taxes them according to their quality, of which he has information. Thus he collects vast sums, of which he makes little or no profit himself; all going to feed the poor, and the repair of the pagod. The chief Bramin causes victuals to be distributed to the pilgrims every day; as milk, rice, butter and wheat; but to the poor, who want wherewithal to cook it, they distribute their food ready dressed. In the morning they boil a quantity of rice in earthen pots of different bigness; and at the hour when the pilgrims come for their meat, the chief Bramin orders another Bramin to take a pot of boiled rice; this pot he lets fall; and if there be five, the pot breaks into five equal parts, and every one takes his own share. And in the same manner he breaks it into more pieces, if there be more persons, to whom he is to distribute the food. Which is a thing very strange and worthy of observation. They never boil twice in an earthen pot; but in a copper pot; nor have they any other dishes, than only certain leaves, which they fasten together, and a certain kind of a bason, about a foot in compass, wherein they melt their butter, and stir the rice with the ends of their fingers when they eat. They have also a kind of a shell, wherein they pour their melted butter, which they will swallow down, as we do sack.

Now for the description of a particular idol which stands upon the altar in the pagod of Jagrenate: it is covered from the shoulders downward with a great mantle that hangs down upon

the altar. This mantle is of tissue of gold or silver, according to the solemnities. At first it had neither feet nor hands; but after one of their prophets was taken up into heaven, while they were lamenting what to do for another, God sent them an angel in the likeness of that prophet, to the end they might continue their veneration toward him. Now while this angel was busy in making this idol, the people grew so impatient, that they took him out of the angel's hands, and put him into the pagod, without hands or feet; but finding that the idol appeared in that manner too deformed, they made him hands and arms of those small pearls which we call ounce-pearls. As for his feet, they are never seen, being hid under his cloak. There is no part open but his hands and feet; the head and body being of sandal-wood; round about the duomo, under which this idol stands, being very high, from the bottom to the top, are only niches filled with other idols; the greatest part whereof represents most hideous monsters, being all of different colours. On each side of this pagod, there stands another much less, where the pilgrims make their lesser offerings. And some that have in sickness, or upon business made any vows to any deity, bring thither the remembrance thereof in resemblance of the good which they have received. They rub this idol every day with sweet oils, that make it of a black colour. And at the right hand of this idol sits his sister, who stands upon her feet, and is well clad, being called by the name Sotora; upon his left, stands his brother, clothed all over also, whom they call Balbadar. Before the idol, somewhat

toward his left hand, stands the idol's wife upon her feet, all of massy gold, by the name of Remin ; whereas the other three, are only of sandal-wood.

The other two pagods are appointed for the residence of the chief Bramin, and other Bramins that officiate in the great pagod. All these Bramins go with their heads bare, and for the most part shaved ; having no other cloths but only one piece of calicut, with one half whereof they cover their bodies ; the other part serves them instead of a scarf. Near the pagod stands the tomb of one of their prophets, whose name was Cabir, to whom they give great honour. You are to take notice also, that their idols stand upon a kind of altar encompassed with iron bars. For no persons are to touch them, but only certain Bramins, appointed for that service by the chief Bramin.

Next to that of Jagrenate, the most famous pagod is that of Banarous, being also seated upon the Ganges, in a city that bears the same name. That which is most remarkable is, that from the gate of the pagod to the river there is a descent all of stone ; near to which are certain platforms, and small blind chambers, some of the Bramins' lodging, others where they dress their victuals ; for so soon as the idolaters have said their prayers, and made their offerings, they dress their food, not suffering any person to touch it but themselves, for fear lest any unclean person should come near it. But above all things, they passionately desire to drink of Ganges' water ; for as often as they drink it, they are washed, as they believe, from all their sins. Great numbers of these Bramins go every day to the

cleanest part of the river, where they fill their little round earthen pots full of water, the mouths whereof are very small, and contain every one of them a bucketful. Being thus filled they bring them before the great priest, who covers them with a fine piece of flame-coloured calicut, three or four times doubled, to which he sets his seal. The Bramins carry these pots, some six of them tied together with six little cords fastened to the end of a stick as broad as a lath, shifting their shoulders often; travelling sometimes three or four hundred leagues with those precious burthens up into the country. Where they sell it, or present it; but that is only to the rich, from whence they expect great rewards. There are some of the idolaters, who when they make any great feast, especially when they marry their children, will drink four or five hundred crowns in this water. They never drink of it till the end of their meals; and then a glass or two according to the liberality of the master of the feast. The chief reason why they esteem the water of Ganges so highly, is, because it never putrifies, nor engenders any vermin; though I know not whether they may be believed, considering the great quantity of dead bodies which they fling into the Ganges.

The body of the pagod of Banarous is made like a cross, as are all the rest of the pagods, the four parts whereof are equal. In the midst there is a cupola raised very high, the top whereof is pyramidal; at the end also of every four parts of the cross there is a tower, to which there is an ascent on the outside. Before you come to the top, there are several balconies and niches wherein

to take the fresh air : and round about are figures of all sorts of creatures, but very lewd work. Under the duomo, in the middle of the pagod there is an altar, like a table, eight feet long, and six feet broad, with two steps before, that serve for a footstool, which is covered sometimes with a rich tapestry, sometimes with silk, sometimes with cloth of gold or silver, according to the solemnity of their festival. Their altars are covered with cloth of gold or silver, or else with some painted calicuts. Approaching the entry of the pagod, you see the altar right before ye, together with the idols which are upon it. For the women and virgins worship without, not being permitted to enter the pagod, no more than is a certain tribe which is among them. Among the idols that stand upon the great altar, there is one placed upright some five or six foot high ; but you can see neither arms, nor legs, nor body : nothing appears but the head and neck, all the rest being covered down to the altar with a robe that spreads itself below. Sometimes you shall see the neck set out with some rich chain either of gold, rubies, pearls or emraulds. This idol was made in honeur and likeness of Bainma-dou, who was heretofore a very great and holy personage among them, whose name they often have in their mouths. Upon the right-side of the altar stands the figure of a chimera, part elephant, part horse, part mule. It is of massive gold, and they call it Garou, not suffering any person to approach it but the Bramins. They say it is the resemblance of the beast which carried that holy person when he lived upon earth. And that he travelled long

journeys upon his back, to see if the people remained in their duty, and whether they did no wrong one to another. Between the great gate and the great altar upon the left-hand, there is a little altar, upon which there stands an idol of black marble sitting cross-legged, about two feet high. While I was there, a little boy who was the son of the high-priest stood upon the left side of the altar, and all the people threw him certain pieces of *Taffata*, or embroidered calicut, like handkerchiefs, all which he returned to the people again after he had wiped them upon the idol. Others threw him bracelets of coral, others of yellow-amber, other threw him fruights and flowers; whatever they threw him, he rubbed it upon the idol, put it to his lips, and then restored it to the people. This idol is called Morli-Ram, that is to say God-Morli, and was the brother of him that stands upon the great altar.

Under the portal of the pagod sits one of the principal Bramins with a great bason by him, full of a yellow colour mixed with water. All these poor idolaters come and present themselves before him, who gives them a mark from between the eyes to the top of the nose, then upon the arms, and upon the stomach; by which marks they know who have washed themselves in Ganges, and who not. Those that never washed themselves but in the waters of their own wells, or have only sent for it from the river, they do not believe to be perfectly purified, and by consequence they are not to be marked with that colour. By the way take notice, that these idolaters are marked with different colours, according to the tribe they are

of. But in the empire of the Great Mogul, they who are painted with yellow compose the biggest tribe, and are the least defiled. For when they are necessitated to the deeds of nature, some think it enough to wash the part defiled ; but they first rub the part with a handful of sand, then they scour it with water. After so doing, they affirm their bodies to be clean, and that they can eat their food without fear.

Near to this great pagod upon the summer-west, stands a kind of a college, which the Raja Jesseing, the most potent of all the idolaters in the Mogul's empire, built for the education of the youth of the better sort. I saw two of the children of that Prince there at school, who had for their masters several Bramins, who taught them to write and read in a language peculiar to the idolaters' priests, and far different from the speech of the common people. Entering into the court of that college, and casting my eyes up, I discovered two galleries that went round the court, where I saw the two Princes sitting, attended by several petty lords and Bramins, who made several mathematical figures upon the ground with chalk. The two Princes seeing me, sent to know who I was ; and understanding that I was a Frank, they sent for me up, and asked me several questions touching Europe, and particularly touching France. Whereupon there being two globes in the room which the Hollanders had given the Bramins, I shewed the Princes where France lay upon one of them. After I had taken leave, I asked one of the Bramins when I might see the pagod open : he answered me, the next morning before sun-rising. When I came there, I observed

before the door, a gallery supported with pillars, where there was already a great crowd of men, women and children expecting 'when the pagod would be opened. By and by, the gallery, and a great part of the court being full, there came eight Bramins, four of each side of the gate, with every one a censer in his hand, followed by a rabble of other Bramins that made a hideous noise with drums and other instruments. The two eldest of the Bramins sing a song ; and then all the people falling into the tune, fall a singing and playing, with every one a peacock's tail, or some other kind of flable, to drive away the flies, that the idol may not be annoyed when they open the pagod. This fanning, and the music, lasted a good half hour. Then the two principal Bramins made a great noise three times with two little bells, and with a kind of a mallet knocked at the pagod door. Which was presently opened by six Bramins within, discovering, some six or seven paces from the entrance, an altar with an idol upon it, which they call Ram-Ram, the sister of Morli-Ram. Upon her right hand she has a child made like a great Cupid, which they call the god La-kemin, and in her left arm a little girl, which they call the goddess Sita. So soon as the pagod was open, and that a great curtain was drawn, the people, who perceived the idol, fell upon the ground, laying their hands upon their heads, and prostrating themselves three times. Then rising up, they threw great quantities of nosegays and garlands to the priests ; with which the Bramins touched the idol, and then restored them again. Before the altar stood a Bramin, who held in his hand

a lamp of nine wicks lighted, upon which he cast incense every foot, and then held it to the idol. All these ceremonies lasted above an hour ; after which the people departed, and the pagod was shut. They presented the idol with great store of rice, meal, butter, oil, and milk-meats, of which the Bramins lose nothing. Now in regard this idol is the representation of a woman, the women all invoke it, and call her their patroness : which is the reason that the place is generally crowded with women and maids. The Raja, to have this idol in the pagod of his own house, and for taking it out of the great pagod, has expended as well upon the Bramins, as in alms to the poor, above five lacks of roupies, or 750,000 livres of our money.

On the other side of the street where the college is built, there stands another pagod, called Richourdas, from the name of the idol, which is within upon the altar : and somewhat lower upon another small altar stands another idol, which they call Goupaidas, the brother of Richourdas. You see nothing but the face of all these idols, which is either of wood or jet ; unless it be the idol of Morli-Ram, which stands in the great pagod stark naked. As for the idol Ram-Ram, which stands in the Rajah's pagod, it has two diamonds instead of eyes, which the Prince caused to be set there, with a collar of pearl, and canopy over his head, supported with four silver pillars.

Some eight days' journey from Banarous, bending northward, you enter into a mountainous country ; but which sometimes opens itself into very large plains, sometimes three or four leagues in

length. They are very fertile in corn, rice, wheat, and pulse. But that which is the plague and ruin of the people of that country, is the vast number of elephants that breed there, and devour their harvest. If a caravan pass through any part of that country where there are no inns, in regard the people are forced to lie in the open fields, they have much ado to defend themselves from the elephants that will come to take away their provisions. To scare them, the people make great fires, shoot off their muskets, hooping and hollowing ever and anon. In this place there is another pagod, well-built, and very ancient, adorned with many figures both within and without, which are only the representations of maids and women ; so that men are seldom known to repair thither for devotion's sake ; and therefore it is called the women's pagod. There is an altar in the middle, as in other pagods ; and upon the altar an idol of massy gold, four feet high, representing a maid standing upright, which they call Ram-Marion. At her right hand stands a child of massy silver, about two feet high ; and they say that the maid lived a very holy life, that that child was brought to her by the Bramins to be instructed in her belief, and in the knowledge of well-living : but that after two or three years that the child had lived with her, the infant grew so knowing and ready witted, that all the Rajahs of the country longed for her company ; so that being stolen from her one night, she was never seen afterwards. Upon the left hand of this idol, stands another idol, representing an old man ; who, as they say, was the servant of Ram-Marion and the infant : for which

reason the Bramins do very much reverence this idol. They never come but once a year in devotion, but they must be there upon a prefixed day, which is the first of November, though they never open the pagod till the full of the moon. During those fifteen days, the pilgrims, as well men as women, fast from time to time, and wash themselves three times a day, not leaving a hair in any part of their bodies, which they take off with a certain earth.

CHAPTER XII.

A continuation of the description of the principal pagods of the Indian idolaters.

Next to the pagods of Jugrenate and Banarous, the most considerable is that of Matura, about eighteen leagues from Agra, upon the way to Dehly. It is one of the most sumptuous edifices in all India, and the place to which the greatest number of pilgrims was wont to resort: but now there are very few or none; the idolaters having sensibly lost the reverence which they had for that pagod, since the river of Gemena, that formerly ran by that pagod, has changed its course, above half a league from it. For it requires so much time to return to the pagod, after they have washed in the river, that they were many times defiled again before they could reach it. Though this pagod stands in a bottom, yet you may

discover it five or six leagues before you come at it, the building being very lofty and magnificent. The stones are of a red colour, which they fetch from a quarry, near Agra. They cleave like our slates, some of them being fifteen feet long, and nine or ten feet broad, yet not above six fingers thick, especially when you cleave them as you would have them for use : they also make very fair pillars. The fortress of Agra, the walls of Jehanabat, the King's house, the two Mosques, and several noblemen's houses are all built of this stone.

The pagod is built upon a great platform of an octagonal figure, paved with free-stone ; being adorned round about with the figures of all sorts of creatures, especially apes. There is an ascent to it two ways of fifteen or sixteen steps a piece, every step being two feet broad, for two persons to go abreast. One of the ascents leads up to the great portal of the pagod, the other behind up to the chancel. The pagod does not take up above half the platform, the other half serving for a piazza before it. The structure is in the form of a cross, like the rest of the pagods, in the midst whereof a great duomo, with two others of each side somewhat less, advance themselves above the rest of the building. The outside of the building from top to bottom is adorned with the figures of rams, apes and elephants, and several sorts of monsters. From one foot below every one of these duomos to the roof, at such and such spaces, are windows, some five, some six feet high, and to every window, belongs a balcony, where four persons may stand. Every balcony is

covered with a little arch, supported by four pillars, others by eight, every two touching one another. Round about the duomo's are niches filled with the figures of demons. Some with four arms, some with four legs. Some with men's heads upon the bodi's of beasts, and long tails that hang down to their thighs: there are abundance of apes; and indeed it is an ugly sight to behold so many deformed spectacles. There is but one great door to the pagod, upon each side whereof there are pillars and figures of men and monsters. The hinder part is closed with a close balister of stone pillars five or six inches in diameter, into which, as into a kind of *sanctum sanctorum*, none but the Bramins are permitted to enter: but for money, I got in, and saw a square altar, some fifteen or sixteen feet from the door covered with an old tissue of gold and silver, upon which stood the great idol, which they call Ram-Ram. You see nothing but his head, which is of a very black marble, with two rubies instead of eyes. All the body, from the shoulders to the feet, is covered with a robe of purple velvet, with some small embroidery. There are two other idols of each side of him two feet high, apparelled in the same manner; only their faces are white, which they call Becchor. There I saw a machine sixteen feet square, and between twelve and fifteen feet high; covered with painted calicuts, representing the shapes of devils. This machine running upon four wheels, they told me, was a moving altar, upon which they carried their great God in procession to visit the other Gods, as also to the river, whither all the people went upon their great festival.

The fourth pagod is that of Tripeti, in the province of Carnatica, toward the coast of Coromandel, and Cape Comorin. I saw it as I went to Maslipatan. It is a pagod to which there belong a great number of little lodgings for the Bramins : so that altogether it seems to be a great town. There are several ponds round about it ; but there superstition is so great, that no passenger dare take any water out of them, but what the Bramin gives him.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the pilgrimages of the idolaters to their pagods.

All the idolaters under the dominion of the Great Mogul, and other Princes, both on this side and beyond Ganges, at least once in their lives go in pilgrimage to one of these pagods that I have named ; but most generally to that of Jagrenate, as being the first and most considerable above all the rest. The Bramins and rich people go oftener. For some go every four years, some every six, or eight ; and putting the idols of their pagods upon *Pallekies* covered with tissues, they travel with their Bramins, as it were in procession to the pagod which they most esteem.

They go not in pilgrimage, one by one, or two and two, but whole towns, and many times several towns together. The poor that go a great way, are supplied by the rich ; who spend very

freely in such acts of charity. The rich travel in *Pallekies* or chariots, the poor on foot, or upon oxen; the wife carrying the child, and the man the kitchen implements.

The idol which they carry in procession, by way of visit, and out of respect to the great Ram-Ram, lies at length in a rich *Palleky*, covered with tissue of gold and silver, fringed as richly; the mattress and bolster being of the same stuff under the head, feet, and elbows. The Bramins also distribute flabels to the most considerable of the company, the handles whereof being eight feet long, are plated with gold and silver. The flabel being three feet in diameter, of the same tissue as the *Pallekies*; round about, it is adorned with peacock's feathers to gather more wind, and sometimes with bells to make a kind of tingling. There are six of these flabels usually employed to keep off the lilies from their God; the better sort taking it by turns, that the honour of waiting upon their God may be more equally shared.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of divers customs of the Indian idolaters.

The Bramins are well skilled in astrology; and will exactly foretell to the people the eclipses of the sun and moon. The second of July 1666, about one o' clock in the afternoon, at Patna in Bengala, there was an eclipse of the sun; at

which time it was a prodigious thing to see the multitudes of people, men, women, and children, that ran to the river Ganges, to wash themselves. But it behoves them to begin to wash three days before the eclipse; all which time they labour day and night in providing all sorts of rice, milk, meats, and sweatmeats, to throw to the fish and crocodiles, as soon as the Bramins give the word. Whatever eclipse it be whether of the sun or moon, the idolaters as soon as it appears, break all their earthen pots and dishes in the house, which makes a hideous noise altogether.

Every Bramin has his magic book, wherein are abundance of circles and semicircles, squares, triangles, and several sorts of ciphers. They also make several figures upon the ground, and when they find that the good hour is come, they cry aloud to the people to feed the fish. Then there ensues a most horrible din of drums, bells, and noise of sounding metal, which they twang one against another. And as soon as the victuals are thrown into the river, the people are to go in and wash and rub themselves till the eclipse be over. So that in regard the waters were at that time very high, for more than three leagues above and below the city, and all the breadth of the river, there was nothing to be seen but the heads of the people. As for the Bramins, they stay ashore to receive the richer sort, and those that give most; to dry their bodies and to give them dry linen to their bellies. Afterwards they cause them to sit down in a chair, where the most liberal of the idolaters have provided rice, pulse, milk, butter, sugar, meal, and wood. Before the

chair the Bramin makes a place very clean about five feet square ; then with cow-dung steeped in a kind of yellow bason, he rubs all the place, for fear any Emet should come there to be burnt. For indeed they would never make use of wood if they could help it ; and when they do, they are very careful that there be no worms or insects in it. In the place which they have thus cleansed ; they draw several figures, as triangles, ovals, half-ovals, &c. Then upon every figure they lay a little cows-dung, with two or three small sticks of wood, upon every one of which they lay a several sort of grain ; after that pouring butter, and setting fire to each ; by the smoke which rises, they judge of the plenty of every sort of grain that year.

When the moon is at the full in March, they keep a solemn festival for their idol, which is in form of a serpent. This festival continues nine days ; and when it comes, they do nothing but make holiday all the while, as well men as beasts, which they beautify by making circles about their eyes with vermillion, with which they also colour the horns ; and if they have a particular kindness for the beast, they hang them with leaves of gilded tin. Every morning they worship the idol, and the maids dance about it for an hour, to the noise of flutes and drums ; after which they eat and drink and are merry till the evening, and then they worship and dance about their idol again.

Though the idolaters never drink any strong drink at other times, yet at this festival they drink palm-wine, and strong water, which is made of the same in remote villages ; for else their Mahometan Governor would not suffer them to

make wine, nor to sell any which might be brought out of Persia.

Their strong water is thus made : they take a great earthen pot, well glazed within, which they call Martavane; into one of these vessels, that holds three hundred Paris pints, of palm-wine, they put in fifty or sixty pound of brown sugar unrefined, which looks like yellow wax; with about twenty pound of a great thick bark of a thorn, not much unlike that which our leather-dressers use. This bark sets the palm-wine abubbling and working just like our new wines, for five or six days together, till it becomes of a sweet liquor, as sour as our crabs. Then they distill it, and according to the taste they would give, they either put into a cauldron full, a little bag of mace, or three or four handfuls of annise-seed. They can make it also as strong as they please.

Being at Agra in the year 1642, an idolater, whose name was Woldas, broker to the Hollanders, about seventy years of age, receiving news that the chief Bramin at the pagod of Matura was dead, went to the Hollander and desired him to even all accounts; for said he, the chief priest being dead, it behoves me to die, that I may serve him in the other world. Thereupon having ended his accounts, he took his coach, with some of his kindred; but having neither eaten nor drunk from the time he received the news, he died by the way; having famished himself for grief.

The Indian idolaters have a custom, that when any person gives a thing, they snap their fingers, crying out, Gi-Narami, remember Narami, who was a great saint among them, for fear the evil

spirit, should enter into the body of him that gives.

Being at Surat in the year 1653, a Raspute being demanded custom for three or four pieces of calicut, boldly asked the Governor, whether a soldier that had served the King all his lifetime, ought to pay custom for two or three pitiful pieces of calicut, not worth four or five roupies; telling him it was only to clothe his wife and children. The Governor nettled at his sauciness, called him *bethico*, or son of a whore; adding, that if he were Prince he would make him pay his customs. Whereupon the soldier incensed at the affront, making as if he felt for money to pay his dues, bearing up to the Governor, stabbed him in the belly, so that he died immediately. But the soldier was presently cut in pieces by the Governor's servants.

Though the idolaters are in utter darkness as to the knowledge of the true God, however the law of nature teaches them morality in many things. When they are married they are seldom false to their wives. Adultery is very rare among them. And as for sodomy I never heard it mentioned. They marry their children between seven and eight years old, for fear they should fall into that vice; the ceremonies whereof are these: the day before the nuptials, the bridegroom, accompanied by all his kindred, goes to the house where the bride lives, with a great pair of bracelets, two fingers thick, hollow within, and in two pieces, with a hinge in the middle to open them. According to the quality of the bride those bracelets are of more or less value, sometimes of gold,

sometimes of silver, tin, or latten, the poorest sort of all making use of lead. The next day there is a great feast at the bridegroom's house, whither all the kindred on both sides are invited; and about three o'clock in the afternoon the bride is brought thither. Then the chief of the Bramins that are there, of which there are always several, laying the head of the bride to the bridegroom's, pronounces several words, sprinkling their heads and bodies all the while with water. Then they bring him upon plates or fig-leaves several sorts of meats, calicuts, and stuffs; and then the Bramin asks the bridegroom, whether so long as God shall make him able, he will let his wife share with him, and whether he will endeavour to maintain her by his labour. If he says yes, they all set themselves down to the feast prepared for them, where every one eats by himself. If the bride be rich, and be acquainted among the nobility, their weddings are very pompous and expensive. The bridegroom is mounted upon an elephant, and the bride rides in a chariot; the whole company carrying torches in their hands. They also borrow of the Governor and the nobility of the place, as many elephants and prancing horses as they can get. And they walk some part of the night with fireworks, which they throw about the streets and piazzas. But the greatest expense to those that live three or four hundred leagues from it, is to get the water of Ganges; for in regard they account that water sacred, and drink it out of devotion, it must be brought them by the Bramins, and in earthen vessels, glazed within side, which the chief Bramin of Jagrenate fills himself with the purest water

of the river, and then seals up with his own seal. They never drink this water till the end of the feast, and then they give their guests three or more glasses apiece. This water coming so far, and the chief Bramin demanding a tribute for every pot, which contains a pailful, sometimes a wedding comes to two or three thousand roupies.

The eighth of April, being in a city of Bengala called Malde, the idolaters made a great feast, according to the particular custom of that place; they all go out of the city, and fasten iron hooks to the boughs of several trees, then come a great number of poor people and hang themselves, some by the sides, some by the brawn of their backs, upon those hooks, till the weight of their body tearing away the flesh, they fall of themselves. 'Tis a wonderful thing to see that not so much as one drop of blood should issue, from the wounded flesh, nor that any of the flesh should be left upon the hook; besides, that in two days they are perfectly cured by such plasters as their Bramins give them. There are others who at that feast will lie upon a bed of nails, with the points upward, the nails entering a good way into the flesh; however while these people are under this penance, their friends come and present them with money and linen. When they have undergone their penance, they take the presents and distribute them to the poor, without making any farther advantage of them. I asked one, why they made that feast, and suffered those severe penances; who answered me, that it was in remembrance of the first man, whom they called Adam, as we do.

In the year 1666, I saw another sort of penance, as I crossed the Ganges ; upon the bank of which river they had prepared a clean place, where one of the poor idolaters was condemned to rest upon the ground, touching it only with his hands and feet ; which he was to do several times a day, and every time to kiss the earth three times before he rose up again. He was to rise up upon his left foot, never touching the ground with his right all the while. And every day for a month together before he either eat or drank he was obliged to this posture for fifty times together, and consequently to kiss the ground a hundred and fifty times. He told me that the Bramins had enjoined him that penance because he had suffered a cow to die in his house, and had not lead her to the water to be washed before she died.

When an idolater has lost any piece of gold or silver, or sum of money either by negligence, or as being stolen from him, he is obliged to carry as much as he lost to the great Bramin ; for if he does not, and that the other should come to know of it, he is ignominiously cast out of his tribe, to make him more careful another time.

On the other side the Ganges northward, toward the mountains of Naugrocot, there are two or three Rajahs, who neither believe God nor the devil. Their Bramins have a book containing their belief, full of ridiculous absurdities, whereof the author whose name is Baudou gives no reason. These Rajahs are the Great Mogul's vassals, and pay him tribute.

To conclude, the Malavares carefully preserve

the nails of their left hands and let their hair grow like women's. These nails, which are half a finger long, serve them instead of combs; and it is with their left hand that they do all their drudgery, never touching their faces, nor what they eat, but with their right hands.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the kingdom of Boutan whence comes the musk, the good rhubarb and some furs.

The kingdom of Boutan is of a large extent; but I could never yet come to a perfect knowledge thereof. I have set down all that I could learn at Patna, whither the merchants of Boutan come to sell their musk. The most excellent rhubarb comes also from the kingdom of Boutan. From hence is brought also that seed which is good against the worms, therefore called wormseed; and good store of furs. As for the rhubarb, the merchants run a great hazard which way soever they bring it; for if they take the northern road, toward Caboul, the wet spoils it; if the southern road, in regard the journey is long, if the rains happen to fall, there is as much danger that way, so that there is no commodity requires more care than that.

As for the musk, during the heats the merchant loses by it, because it dries and loses its weight. Now in regard this commodity pays

twenty-five in the hundred custom at Gorrochepour, the last town belonging to the Great Mogul, next to the kingdom of Boutan, when the Indian merchants come to that city, they go to the officer at the custom house, and tell him that they are going to Boutan, to buy musk or rhubarb, and how much they intend to lay out; all which the officer registers, with the name of the merchant. Then the merchants instead of twenty-five, agree with him for seven or eight in the hundred, and take a certificate from the officer or Cadi, that he may not demand any more at their return. If the officer refuses a handsome composition, then they go another way, over deserts and mountains covered with snow, tedious and troublesome, till they come to Caboul, where the caravans part, some for great Tartary, others for Belch. Here it is that the merchants coming from Boutan barter their commodities for horses, mules, and camels; for there is little money in that country. Then those Tartars transport their commodities into Persia, as for as Ardevile and Tauris; which is the reason that some Europeans have thought that rhubarb and wormseed came out of Tartary. True it is, that some rhubarb comes from thence; but not so good as that of Boutan, being sooner corrupted; for rhubarb will eat out its own heart. The Tartars carry back out of Persia silks of small value, which are made in Tauris and Ardevile, and some English cloth brought by the Armenians from Constantinople and Smyrna. Some of the merchants that come from Caboul and Boutan go to Candahar, and thence to Ispahan; whither they carry coral in beads, yellow amber, and lapis lazuli beads, if they can meet

with it. The other merchants that come from the coast of Multan, Iahor, and Agra, bring only linens, indigo, and store of cornelian and crystal beads. Those that return through Gorrochepour, and are agreed with the officer of the custom house, carry from Patna and Dacca, coral, yellow amber, bracelets of tortoise-shells, and other shells, with great store of round and square thick pieces of tortoise. When I was at Patna, four Armenians who had been before at Boutan, returned from Dantzick, where they had made certain figures of yellow amber, representing the shapes of several creatures and monsters, which they were carrying to the King of Boutan, who is an idolater, as are all his people, to set up in his pagods. For the Armenians for money will sell any thing of idolatry; and they told me besides, that if they could but have made the idol which the King of Boutan bespoke of them; they should have done their business. Which was to have been a monster's head, with six horns, four ears, four arms, and six fingers upon every hand, all of yellow amber; but they could not find pieces big enough.

The caravan is three months travelling from Patna, to the kingdom of Boutan. It sets out from Patna about the end of December, and eight days after arrives at Gorrochepour.

From Gorrochepour to the foot of the high mountains, is eight or nine days' journey more, during which the caravan suffers very much hardship, for the country is nothing but wild forests, full of wild elephants. So that the

merchants, instead of taking their rests, are forced to watch, keep fires, and shoot off their muskets all the night long. For the elephant making no noise in treading, would else be upon the caravan before they were aware; not that he comes to do any mischief to the men, but to get what victuals he can find. You may travel from Patna to the foot of those mountains in *Pallekies*. But generally they ride upon oxen, camels, or horses, bred in the country. Those horses are generally so little, that when a man is upon the back of them, his feet touch the ground; but they will travel twenty leagues an end, and never bait, or else with a very small one. Some of those horses cost two hundred crowns; for indeed when you come to cross the mountains, you can make use of no other sort of carriage but them in regard of the narrowness and ruggedness of the passes; which many times put the horses very much to it, as strong and as low as they are.

Five or six leagues beyond Gorrochepour you enter into the territories of the Raja of Nupal, which extend to the frontiers of the kingdom of Boutan. This Raja is a tributary to the Great Mogul, and pays him every year an elephant for his homage. He resides in the city of Nupal, from whence he derives his title; but there is little either trade or money in his country, which is all woods and forests.

The caravan being arrived at the foot of these mountains which are called at this day by the name of Naugrocot, abundance of people come from all parts of the mountain, the greatest parts

whereof are women and maids, who agree with the merchants to carry them, their goods and provisions cross the mountains, which is eight days' journey more.

The women carry upon each shoulder a woollen roll, to which is fastened a large cushion, that hangs down upon their backs, upon which the man sits. There are three women to carry one man, relieving one another by turns. And for their luggage and provisions, they lade them upon goats, that will carry a hundred and fifty pound weight apiece. Those that will ride, are in many places forced to have their horses hoisted up with cords. They never feed them but morning and evening mixing a pound of meal, half a pound of brown sugar, and half a pound of butter together with water sufficient. In the evening they must be contented only with a few flat peason, bruised, and steeped half an hour in water. The women that carry the men, get for their ten days' travel two roupies apiece, and as much for every burthen which the goats carry, and for every horse which they lead.

After you have passed the mountains, you may travel to Boutan upon oxen, camels, horses, or *Pallekies*, which you please. The country, is good, abounding in rice, corn, pulse, and store of wine. All the people both men and women are clad in the summer with a large piece of fustian, or hempen cloth; in the winter with a thick cloth, almost like felt. Both men and women wear upon their heads a kind of bonnet, much like our drinking cans, which they adorn with boars' teeth, and with round and square

pieces of tortoise-shells. The richer sort intermix coral and amber beads, of which their women make them necklaces. The men as well as the women wear bracelets upon their left hands only, from the wrist to the elbow. The women wear them strait, the men loose. About their necks they wear a silken twist, at the end whereof hangs a bead of yellow amber or coral, or a boar's tooth, which dangles upon their breasts. On their left sides, their girdles are buttoned with beads of the same. Though they be idolaters, yet they feed upon all sort of food; except the flesh of cows, which they adore as the common nurses of all men; they are besides great lovers of strong water. They observe also some ceremonies of the Chinese, burning amber at the end of their feasts, though they do not worship fire like the Chinese. For which reason the merchants of Boutan will give at Patna for a *serre* of large pieces of yellow amber, as big as a nut, bright and clean, thirty-five and forty roupies. The *serre* of yellow amber, musk, coral, amber-grease, rhubarb, and other drugs, containing nine ounces to the pound. Saltpetre, sugar, rice, corn and other commodities, are also sold by the *serre* in Bengala; but the *serre* contains seventy-two of our pounds, at sixteen ounces to the pound; and forty *serres* make a *mein*, or 2,824 pounds of Paris.

To return to yellow amber a piece of nine ounces is worth in Boutan from 250 to 300 roupies, according to its colour and beauty. Coral rough, or wrought into beads, yields profit enough; but they had rather have it rough, to shape it as they please themselves.

The women and maids are generally the artists among them, as to those toys. They also make beads of crystal and agat. As for the men, they make bracelets of tortoise-shell, and sea shells, and polish those little pieces of shells which the northern people wear in their ears, and in their hair. In Patna and Dacca there are above two thousand persons that thus employ themselves, furnishing the kingdoms of Boutan, Asem, Siam, and other northern and eastern parts of the Mogul's dominions.

As for wormseed, the herb grows in the fields, and must die before the seed can be gathered ; but the mischief is, that before the seed is ripe, the wind scatters the greatest part, which makes it so scarce. When they gather the seed, they take two little hampers, and as they go along the fields, they move their hampers from the right to the left, and from the left to the right, as if they were mowing the herb, bowing it at the top, and so all the seed falls into the hampers.

Rhubarb is a root which they cut in pieces, and stringing them by ten or twelve together, hang them up a drying.

Had the natives of Boutan as much art in killing the martin as the Muscovite, they might vend great store of those rich furs, considering what a number of those beasts there are in that country. No sooner does that creature peep out of his hole, but the Muscovites, who lie upon the watch, have them presently, either in the nose or in the eyes ; for should they hit them in the body, the blood would quite spoil the skin.

The King of Boutan has constantly seven, or

eight thousand men for his guard. Their weapons are for the most part bows and arrows. Some of them carry battle-axes, and bucklers. 'Tis a long time ago since they had the first use of muskets and cannons: their gunpowder being long, but of an extraordinary force. They assured me that some of their cannons had letters and figures upon them, that were above five hundred years old. They dare not stir out of the kingdom without the Governor's particular leave; not dare they carry a musket along with them, unless their next kindred will undertake for them that they shall bring it back. Otherwise I had brought one along with me; for by the characters upon the barrel, it appeared to have been made above 180 years. It was very thick, the mouth of the bore being like a tulip, polished within as bright as a looking-glass. Two-thirds of the barrel were garnished with embossed wires, with certain flowers of gold and silver inlaid between; and it carried a bullet that weighed an ounce. But I could not prevail with the merchant to sell it me nor to give me any of his powder.

There are always fifty elephants kept about the King's house, and twenty-five camels, with each a piece of artillery mounted upon his back, that carries half a pound ball. Behind the gun sits a cannoneer that manages and levels the guns as he pleases.

There is no King in the world more feared and more respected by his subjects than the King of Boutan; being in a manner adored by them. When he sits to do justice, or give audience, all that appear in his presence hold their hands close

together above their foreheads: and at a distance from the throne prostrate themselves upon the ground, not daring to lift up their heads. In this humble posture they make their petitions to the King; and when they retire, they go backwards till they are quite out of his sight. One thing they told me for truth, that when the King has done the deeds of nature, they diligently preserve the ordure, dry it and powder it, like sneezing-powder: and then putting it into boxes, they go every market-day, and present it to the chief merchants, and rich farmers, who recompense them for their kindness: that those people also carry it home, as a great rarity, and when they feast their friends, strew it upon their meat. Two Boutan merchants shewed me their boxes, and the powder that was in them.

The natives of Boutan are strong and well proportioned; but their noses and faces are somewhat flat. Their women are said to be bigger and more vigorous than the men; but that they are much more troubled with swellings in the throat than the men, few escaping that disease. They know not what war is, having no enemy to fear but the Mogul. But from him they are fenced with high, steep, craggy, and snowy mountains. Northward there are nothing but vast forests and snow. East and west nothing but bitter water. And as for the Rajahs near them, they are Princes of little force.

There is certainly some silver mine in the kingdom of Boutan, for the King coins much silver, in pieces that are of the value of a roupy. The pieces are already described. However the Boutan

merchants could not tell me where the mine lay. And as for their gold, that little they have is brought them from the east, by the merchants of those countries.

In the year 1659, the Duke of Muscovy's ambassadors passed through this country to the King of China. They were three of the greatest noblemen in Muscovy, and were at first very well received; but when they were brought to kiss the King's hands, the custom being to prostrate themselves three times to the ground, they refused to do it, saying that they would compliment the King after their manner, and as they approached their own Emperor, who was as great and as potent as the Emperor of China. Thereupon, and for that they continued in their resolution, they were dismissed with their presents, not being admitted to see the King. But had those ambassadors conformed to the custom of China, without doubt we might have had a beaten road through Muscovy and the north part of great Tartary, and much more commerce and knowledge of the country than now we have.

This mentioning the Muscovites, puts me in mind of a story that several Muscovy merchants averred to be true, upon the road between Tauris and Ispahan, where I overtook them, of a woman of four score and two years of age, who at those years was brought to bed in one of the cities of Muscovy of a male child, which was carried to the Duke, and by him brought up at the court.

CHAPTER XVI. .

Of the kingdom of Tipra.

Most people have been of opinion till now, that the kingdom of Pegu, lies upon the frontiers of China; and I thought so myself, till the merchants of Tipra undeceived me. I met with three, one at Dacca, and two others at Patna. They were men of very few words; whether it were their own particular disposition, or the general habit of the country. They cast up their accounts with small stones like agats, as big as a man's nail, upon every one of which was a cipher. They had every one their weights, like a steller; though the beam were not of iron, but of a certain wood as hard as Brazile; nor was the ring that holds the weight, and is put through the beam to mark the weight, of iron, but a strong silk rope. And thus they weighed from a dram to ten of our pounds. If all the natives of the kingdom of Tipra, were like the two merchants which I met at Patna, I dare affirm them to be notable toppers; for they never refused whatever strong liquor I gave them, and never left till all was out; and when I told them by my interpreter that all my wine was gone, they clapped their hands upon their stomachs and sighed. These merchants travelled all three through the kingdom of Arakan, which lies to the south and west of Tipra, having some part of Pegu upon the winter west. They told me also, that it was about fifteen days' journey to cross through their country; from whence there is no certain

conjecture of the extent to be made, by reason of the inequality of the stages. They ride upon oxen and horses, which are low, but very hardy. As for the King and the nobility, they ride in their *Pallekies*, or upon their elephants of war. They are no less subject to wens under their throats, than those of Boutan; insomuch that the women have those wens hanging down to their nipples; which proceeds from the badness of the waters.

There is nothing in Tipra which is fit for strangers. There is a mine of gold, but the gold is very coarse. And there is a sort of very coarse silk, which is all the revenue the King has. He exacts no subsidies from his subjects; but only that they, who are not of the prime nobility, should work six days in a year in his mine, or in his silk-works. He sends his gold and his silk into China, for which they bring him back silver, which he coins into pieces to the value of ten sous. He also makes thin pieces of gold, like to the Aspers of Turkey; of which he has two sorts, four of the one sort making a crown, and twelve of the other.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Of the kingdom of Assam.

It was never known what the kingdom of Assam was, till Mirgimola had settled Aureng-zeb in the empire. For he considering that he should be no longer valued at court, after the war was at

an end, being then general of Aureng-zeb's army and powerful in the kingdom where he had great store of creatures, to preserve the authority he had, resolved to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Assam; where he knew he should find little or no resistance, that kingdom having been at peace above 500 years before. 'Tis thought these were the people that formerly invented guns and powder; which spread itself from Assam to Pegu, and from Pegu to China, from whence the invention has been attributed to the Chinese. However certain it is, that Mirgimola brought from thence several pieces of cannon, which were all iron guns, and store of excellent powder, both made in that country. The powder is round and small, like ours, and very strong.

Mirgimola embarked his army in one of the mouths of Ganges, and sailing up one of the rivers that comes from the lake Chiamay, to the twenty-ninth or thirtieth degree, he landed his army, and came into a country abounding in all human necessaries, still finding the less resistance because the people were surprized. Being a Mahometan, he spared not the very pagods, but burned and sacked all wherever he came to the thirty-fifth degree. There he understood that the King of Assam was in the field with a more powerful army than he expected, and that he had several pieces of cannon, and great store of fire-works withal. Thereupon Mirgimola thought it not convenient to march any farther; though the chief reason of his return was the drawing on of winter; which the Indians are so sensible of, that it is impossible to make them stir beyond the

thirtieth or thirty-fifth degree, especially to hazard their lives.

Mirgimola therefore turns to the south-west, and besieges a city called Azoo, which he took in a small time, and found good plunder therein. In this city of Azoo, are the tombs of the Kings of Assam, and of all the royal family. For though they are idolaters, they never burn their dead bodies, but bury them. They believe that the dead go into another world, where they that have lived well in this, have plenty of all things; but that they who have been ill livers, suffer the want of all things, being in a more especial manner afflicted with hunger and drowth; and that therefore it is good, to bury something with them to serve them in their necessities. This was the reason that Mirgimola found so much wealth in the city of Azoo. For many ages, together, several King had built them chapels in the great pagod to be buried in, and in their life-times had stored up in the vaults of their particular chapels, great sums of gold and silver, and other moveables of value. Besides, that when they bury the deceased King, they bury with him likewise whatever he esteemed most precious in his life-time, whether it were an idol of gold or silver, or whatever else, that being needful in this, might be necessary for him in the world to come. But that which savours most of barbarism is, that when he dies, all his best beloved wives, and the principal officers of his house poison themselves, to be buried with him, and to wait upon him in the other world. Besides this, they bury one elephant, twelve camels, six horses, and a good number of

hounds, believing that all those creatures rise again to serve their King

The kingdom of Assam is one of the best countries of all Asia, for it produces all things necessary for human subsistence, without any need of foreign supply. There are in it mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, iron, and great store of silk, but coarse. There is a sort of silk that is found under the trees, which is spun by a creature like to our silk-worms, but rounder, and which lives all the year long under the trees. The silks which are made of this silk glisten very much, but they fret presently. The country produces also great store of gum-lake; of which there is two sorts, one grows under the trees of a red colour, wherewith they paint their linen, and stuffs; and when they have drawn out the red juice, the remaining substance serves to varnish cabinets, and to make wax; being the best lake in Asia, for those uses. As for their gold they never suffer it to be transported out of the kingdom, nor do they make any money of it; but they preserve it all in ingots, which pass in trade among the inhabitants; but as for the silver, the King coins it into money, as is already described.

Though the country be very plentiful of all things, yet there is no flesh which they esteem so much as dog's flesh; which is the greatest delicacy at all feasts; and is sold every month in every city of the kingdom upon their market-days. There are also great store of vines, and very good grapes, but they never make any wine; only they dry the grapes to make *aqua vita*. As for salt they have none but what is artificial, which they

make two ways. First they raise great heaps of that green stuff that swims at the tops of standing waters, which the ducks and frogs eat. This they dry and burn ; and the ashes thereof being boiled in a cloth in water, become very good salt. The other way most in use is to take the leaves of Adam's fig-tree, which they dry and burn ; the ashes whereof make a salt so tart, that it is impossible to eat until the tartness be taken away ; which they do by putting the ashes in water, where they stir them ten or twelve hours together ; then they strain the substance through a linen cloth and boil it ; as the water boils away, the bottom thickens ; and when the water is all boiled away they find at the bottom very good and white salt.

Of the ashes of these fig-leaves they make a lye, wherewith they wash their silk, which makes it as white as snow ; but they have not enough to whiten half the silk that grows in the country.

Kenneroo is the name of the city, where the King of Assam keeps his court ; twenty-five or thirty days' journey from that which was formerly the capital city, and bore the same name. The King requires no subsidies of his people ; but all the mines in his kingdom are his own ; where for the ease of his subjects, he has none but slaves that work ; so that all the natives of Assam live at their ease, and every one has his house by himself, and in the middle of his ground a fountain encompassed with trees and most commonly every one an elephant to carry their wives ; for they have four wives, and when they marry, they say to one, I take thee to serve me in such a thing ;

to the other, I appoint thee to do such business ; so that every one of the wives knows what she has to do in the house. The men and women are generally well complexioned ; only those that live more southerly are more swarthy, and not so subject to wens in their throats ; neither are they so well featured, besides that the women are somewhat flat nosed. In the southern parts the people go stark naked, only covering their private parts, with a bonnet like a blue cap upon their heads, hung about with swine's teeth. They pierce holes in their ears, that you may thrust your thumb in where they hang pieces of gold and silver. Bracelets also of tortoise-shells, and sea-shells as long as an egg, which they saw into circles, are in great esteem among the meaner sort ; as bracelets of coral and yellow amber among those that are rich. When they bury a man, all his friends and relations must come to the burial ; and when they lay the body in the ground, they all take off their bracelets from their arms and legs, and bury them with the corps.

CH'APTER XVIII.

Of the kingdom of Siam.

The greatest part of the kingdom of Siam lies between the Gulf of Siam, and the Gulf of Bengala ; bordering upon Pegu toward the north, and the Peninsula of Malacca toward the south. The shortest

and nearest way for the Europeans to go to this kingdom, is to go to Ispahan, from Ispahan to Ormus, from Ormus to Surat, from Surat to Golconda, from Golconda to Maslipatan, there to embark for Denouserin, which is one of the ports belonging to the kingdom of Siam. From Denouserin to the capital city, which is also called Siam, is thirty-five days' journey, part by water, part by land, by waggon, or upon elephants. The way, whether by land or water, is very troublesome; for by land you must be always upon your guard for fear of tigers and lions; by water, by reason of the many falls of the river, they are forced to hoise up their boats with engines.

All the country of Siam is very plentiful in rice and fruits; the chiefest whereof are mangos, durions, and mangustans. The forests are full of harts, elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, and apes; where there grow also large bamboos in great abundance. Under the knots of these bamboos are emets' nests as big as a man's head, where every emet has his apartment by himself; but there is but one hole to enter into the nest. They make their nests in these canes to preserve themselves from the rains which continue four or five months together.

In the night time the serpents are very busy. There are some two feet long, with two heads; but one of them has no motion.

There is also another creature in Siam, like our salamander, with a forked tail, and very venomous.

The rivers in this kingdom are very large; and that which runs by Siam is equally as large as the rest. The water is very wholesome; but it is very

full of crocodiles of a monstrous bigness, that devour men if they be not very careful of themselves. These rivers overflow their banks while the sun is in the southern tropic ; which makes the fields to be very fertile as far as they flow ; and it is observed, that the rice grows higher or lower, as the floods do more or less increase

Siam, the capital city of the kingdom, where the King keeps his court, is walled about, being about three of our leagues in circuit ; it is situated in an island, the river running quite round it, and might be easily brought into every street in the town, if the King would but lay out as much money upon that design, as he spends in temples and idols.

The Siamers have thirty-three letters in their alphabet. But they write from the left to the right, as we do, contrary to the custom of Japan, China, Cochinchina, and Tunquin, who write from the right to the left.

All the natives of this kingdom are slaves, either to the King or the great lords. The women as well as the men cut their hair ; neither are they very rich in their habits. Among their compliments, the chiefest is, never to go before a person that they respect, unless they first ask leave, which they do by holding up both their hands. Those that are rich have several wives.

The money of the country is already described.

The King of Siam is one of the richest monarchs in the east, and styles himself King of heaven and earth ; though he be tributary to the King of China. He seldom shews himself to his subjects ; and never gives audience, but to the principal

favourites of his court. He trusts to his ministers of state, for the management of his affairs, who sometimes make very bad use of their authority. He never shows himself in public above twice a year; but then it is with an extraordinary magnificence. The first is, when he goes to a certain pagod within the city, which is gilded round both within and without. There are three idols between six and seven feet high, which are all of massy gold; which he believes he renders propitious to him, by the great store of alms that he distributes among the poor, and the presents which he makes to the priests. Then he goes attended by all his court, and puts to open view the richest ornaments he has. One part of his magnificence consists in his train of two hundred elephants; among which there is one that is white, which the King so highly esteems, that he styles himself King of the White Elephant.

The second time the King appears in public, is when he goes to another pagód five or six leagues above the town, up the river. But no person must enter into this pagod, unless it be the King and his priests. As for the people, so soon as they see the door open, they must presently fall upon their faces to the earth. Then the King appears upon the river with two hundred galleys of a prodigious length; four hundred rowers belonging to every one of the galleys; most of them being gilded and carved very richly. Now in regard this second appearance of the King is in the month of November, when the waters begin to abate, the priests make the people believe that none but the

King can stop the course of the waters, by his prayers and by his offerings to this pagod, and they are so vain as to think that the King cuts the waters with his *Sabra*, or skain ; thereby commanding it to retire back into the sea.

The King also goes, but *incognito*, to a pagod in an island where the Hollanders have a factory. There is at the entry thereof an idol sitting cross-legged with one hand upon his knee, and the other arm akimbo. It is above sixty feet high ; and round about this idol are about three hundred others, of several sorts and sizes. All these idols are gilt. And indeed there are a prodigious number of pagods in this country ; for every rich Siamese causes one to be built in memory of himself. Those pagods have steeples and bells, and the walls within are painted and gilded ; but the windows are so narrow that they give but a very dim light. The two pagods to which the King goes publicly, are adorned with several tall pyramids, well gilded. And to that in the Hollanders' island there belongs a cloister, which is a very neat structure. In the middle of the pagod is a fair chapel, all gilded within side ; where they find a lamb, and three wax candles continually burning before the altar, which is all over covered with idols, some of massy gold, others of copper gilt. In the midst of the town, and in one of those to which the King goes once a year, there are above four thousand idols ; and for that which is six leagues from Siam, it is surrounded with pyramids, whose beauty makes the industry of that nation to be admired.

When the King appears, all the doors and

windows of the houses must be shut ; and all the people prostrate themselves upon the ground, not daring to lift up their eyes. And because no person is to be in a higher place than the King, they that are within doors, are bound to keep their lowest rooms. When he cuts his hair, one of his wives performs that office, for he will not suffer a barber to come near him.

This prince has a passionate kindness for his elephants ; which he looks upon as his favourites, and the ornaments of his kingdom. If there be any of them that falls sick, the lords of the court are mighty careful to please their sovereign ; and if they happen to die, they are buried with the same funeral pomp as the nobles of the kingdom ; which are thus performed : they set up a kind of mausoleum, or tomb of reeds, covered with paper : in the midst whereof they lay as much sweet wood as the body weighs, and after the priests have numbled certain orisons, they set it afire, and burn it to ashes ; which the rich preserve in gold or silver urns, but the poor scatter in the wind. As for offenders, they never burn, but bury them.

'Tis thought that in this kingdom there are above two hundred priests, which they call *Bonzes*, which are highly revered as well at court as among the people. The King himself has such a value for some of them, as to humble himself before them. This extraordinary respect makes them so proud, that some of them have aspired to the throne. But when the King discovers any such design, he puts them to death.

And one of them had his head lately struck off for his ambition.

These Bonzes wear yellow, with a little red cloth about their waists; like a girdle. Outwardly they are very modest, and are never seen to be angry. About four in the morning, upon the tolling of their bells, they rise to their prayers, which they repeat again toward evening. There are some days in the year when they retire from all converse, with men. Some of them live by alms; others have houses with good revenues. While they wear the habit of Bonzes, they must not marry; for if they do, they must lay their habit aside. They are generally very ignorant, not knowing what they believe. Yet they hold the transmigration of souls into several bodies. They are forbid to kill any creature; yet they will make no scruple to eat what others kill, or that which dies of itself. They say that the God of the Christians and theirs were brothers; but that theirs was the eldest. If you ask them where their God is, they say, he vanished away, and they know not where he is.

The chief strength of the kingdom is their infantry, which is indifferent good; the soldiers are used to hardship, going all quite naked, except their private parts; all the rest of their body, looking as if it had been cupt, is carved into several shapes of beasts and flowers. When they have cut their skins, and stanch'd the blood, they rub the cut-work with such colours as they think most proper. So that afar off you would think they were clad in some kind of flowered satin or other; for the colours never rub out. Their weapons are

bows and arrows, pike and musket, and an *azagaya*, or staff between five and six feet long, with a long iron spike at the end, which they very dexterously dart at the enemy.

In the year 1665, there was at Siam a Neapolitan Jesuite who was called Father Thomas; he caused the town and the King's palace to be fortified with very good bulwarks, according to art; for which reason the King gave him leave to live in the city, where he has a house and a little church.

CHAPTER XIX.

*Of the kingdom of Macassar; and the ambassadors which the
Hollanders sent into China.*

The kingdom of Macassar, otherwise called the Isle of Celebes, begins at the fifteenth degree of southern latitude. The heats are excessive all the day; but the nights are temperate enough. And for the soil, it is very fertile; but the people have not the art of building. The capital city bears the name of the kingdom, and is situated upon the sea. The port is free; for the vessels that bring great quantities of goods from the adjacent islands, pay no customs. The islanders have a custom to poison their arrows; and the most dangerous poison which they use, is the juice of certain trees in the island of Borneo; which they will temper so as to work swift or

slow, as they please. They hold that the King has only the secret receipt to take away the force of it; who boasts that he has the most effectual poison in the world, which there is no remedy can prevent.

One day an Englishman in heat of blood had killed one of the King of Macassar's subjects; and though the King had pardoned him, yet both English, Hollanders, and Portugals fearing if the Englishman should go unpunished, lest the islanders should revenge themselves upon some of them, besought the King to put him to death; which with much ado being consented to, the King unwilling to put him to a lingering death, and desirous to shew the effect of his poison, resolved to shoot the criminal himself; whereupon he took a long trunk, and shot him exactly into the great toe of the right foot, the place particularly aimed at. Two chirurgeons, one an Englishman, and the other a Hollander, provided on purpose, immediately cut off the member; but for all that, the poison had dispersed itself so speedily, that the Englishman died at the same time. All the Kings and Princes of the east are very diligent in their enquiry after strong poisons. And I remember that the chief of the Dutch factory and I tried several poisoned arrows, with which the King of Achen had presented him, by shooting at squirrels, who fell down dead, as soon as ever they were touched.

The King of Macassar is a Mahometan, and will not suffer his subjects to embrace Christianity. Yet in the year 1656, the Christians found a way to get leave to build a fair church in Macassar,

But the next year the King caused it to be pulled down, as also that of the Dominican friars, which the Portugals made use of. The parish church, which was under the Government of the secular priests, stood still, till the Hollanders attacked Maccassar, and compelled him to turn all the Portugals out of his dominions. The ill conduct of that Prince was in part the occasion of that war: to which the Hollanders were moved, to revenge themselves upon the Portugal Jesuits, who had crossed their embassy to China. Besides, that they offered great affronts to the Hollanders at Macassar, especially when they trod under foot the hat of one of the Dutch envoys, who was sent to treat with the King in behalf of the Company. Thereupon the Hollanders resolved to unite their forces with the Bouquises, that were in rebellion against their sovereign, and to revenge themselves at any rate.

Now as to the business of China, it happened thus: toward the end of the year 1658, the General of Batavia and his council, sent one of the chief of the Holland Company, with presents to the King of China; who arriving at court, laboured to gain the friendship of the *Mandarins*, who are the nobility of the kingdom. But the Jesuits, who by reason of their long abode in the country, understood the language, and were acquainted with the lords of the court, lest the Holland Company should get footing to the prejudice of the Portugals, represented several things to the King's council to the prejudice of the Hollanders; more especially charging them with breach of faith in all the places where they came. Upon this the

Holland Agent was dismissed, and departed out of China, without doing any feats. Afterwards coming to understand what a trick the Portugal Jesuits had put upon him, he made report thereof to the General and his council at Batavia; which so incensed them, that they resolved to be revenged. For by the deputy's accounts, the embassy had cost them above fifty thousand crowns; for which they consulted how to make the Portugals pay double. Understanding therefore the trade which the Jesuits drove in the island of Macao, and to the kingdom of Macassar, whither upon their own account they sent seven vessels, laden with all sorts of commodities, as well of India as China; they took their opportunity, and the seventh of June 1660, appeared with a fleet of thirty sail before the port of Macassar. The King thinking himself obliged to make defence against so potent an enemy, endeavoured to sustain the brunt of the Hollander with the Portugal ships in the road; but the Hollander dividing their fleet, part of them fought the Portugal, the other half battered the royal fortress so furiously, that they carried it in a short time. Which so terrified the King that he commanded the Portugals not to fire any more for fear of further provoking his enemies. The Prince Patinsaloe was slain in the fight, which was a great loss to the King of Macassar, who was become formidable to his neighbours by the good conduct of that minister. As for the Hollanders, they took, burnt, and sank all the Portugal vessels, and sufficiently re-imbursed themselves for their China expenses.

The thirteenth of June the King of Macassar,

whose name was Sumbaco, hung out a white flag from another tower, whence he beheld the fight environed by his wives. During the truce, he sent one of the grandees of his court to the Dutch Admiral, to desire peace, which was granted, upon condition he should send an ambassador to Batavia, expel the Portugals out of the island, and not permit his subjects to have any more to do with them.

Thereupon the King of Macassar sent eleven of the greatest lords of his court, with a train of seven hundred men; the chief of the embassy being the Prince of Patinsaloo. The first thing they did, was to pay two hundred loaves of gold to redeem the royal fortress again; and then submitting to the conditions which the Dutch Admiral had proposed, the General of Batavia signed the articles, which are punctually observed. For the Portugals had in all quitted the country, some departing for Siam and Camboya, others for Macoa and Goa. Macoa, formerly one of the most famous and richest cities of the orient, was the principal motive that inclined the Hollanders to send an ambassador into China; for being the best station which the Portugals had in all those parts, the Dutch had a design to win it wholly. Now, this city, lying in twenty-two degrees of northern latitude, in a small island next to the province of Kanton, which is a part of China, has very much lost its former lustre.

But this was not all which the Jesuits and the Portugal merchants suffered. The chief of the Dutch factory at Mingrela, which is but eight leagues from this city, understanding the bad success

of the Dutch in China, had a contrivance by himself to be revenged. He knew that the Jesuits of Goa and other places, drove a great trade in rough diamonds, which they sent into Europe, or else carried along with them when they returned ; and that for the more private carrying on of their trade, they were wont to send one or two of their order, that knew the language, in the habit of a *Faquir*, which consists of a tiger's skin to cover their back-parts, and a goat's skin to cover the breast, reaching down to the knees. Thereupon the chief of the factory of Mingrela taking his opportunity, and having noticed that two of the supposed *Faquirs* were gone to the mines, to lay out 400,000 pardoes in diamonds, gave order to two men, which he had feed for the purpose, that as soon as the Fathers had made their purchase, he should give notice to the officer of the custom-house at Bicholi.

Bicholi is a great town upon the frontiers of those lands that part the kingdom of Visapour from the territories of the Portugals ; there being no other way to pass the river, which encompasses the island where the city of Goa is built.

The Fathers believing that the customer knew nothing of their purchase, went into the boat to go over the river ; but as soon as they were in, they were strictly searched, and all their diamonds confiscated.

To return to the King of Macassar ; you must know, that the Jesuits once endeavoured to convert him ; and perhaps they might have brought it to pass, had they not neglected one proposal which he made them. For at the same time that the

Jesuits laboured to bring him to Christianity, the Mahumetans used all their endeavours to oblige him to stick to their law. The King willing to leave his idolatry, yet not knowing which part to take, commanded the Mahumetans to send for two or three of their most able *Moullahs*, or doctors from Mecca ; and the Jesuits he ordered to send him as many of the most learned among them, that he might be instructed in both religions ; which they both promised to do. But the Mahumetans were more diligent than the Christians, for in eight months they fetched from Mecca two learned *Moullahs* ; whereupon the King seeing that the Jesuits sent nobody to him, embraced the Mahumetan law. True it is, that three years after there came two Portugal Jesuits, but then it was too late.

The King of Macassar being thus become a Mahumetan, the Prince his brother was so mad at it, that when the mosque, which the King had caused to be built, was finished, he got into it one night, and causing the throats of two pigs to be cut, he all besmeared the walls of the new mosque, and the place which was appointed for the *Moulla* to perform divine service with the blood ; so that the King was forced to pull down that, and build another. After which the Prince with some idolatrous lords stole out of the island, and never since appeared at court.

CHAPTER XX.

The author pursues his travels into the east, and embarks at Mingrela for Batavia. The danger he was in upon the sea ; and his arrival in the island of Ceylon.

I departed from Mingrela, a great town in the kingdom of Visapour, eight leagues from Goa, the fourteenth of April, 1648, and embarked in a Dutch vessel bound for Batavia. The ship had orders to touch at Bokanour, to take in rice. Whereupon I went ashore with the Captain, to obtain leave of the King to buy rice. We found him upon the shore, where he had about a dozen huts set up, which were covered with palm-leaves. In his own hut there was a piece of Persian tapestry spread under him, and there we saw five or six women, some fanning him with peacock's feathers, others giving him *betel*, others filling him his pipe of tobacco. The most considerable persons of the country were in the other huts ; and we counted about two hundred men that were upon the guard, armed only with bows and arrows. They had also two elephants among them. 'Tis very probable, that his palace was not far off, and that he only came thither to take the fresh air. There we were presented with *Tari* or palm-wine ; but being new, and not boiled, it caused the headache in all that drank it, insomuch that we were two days before we could recover it. I asked the reason, how the wine came to do us so much prejudice ; to which they answered me, that it was

the planting of pepper about the palm-trees, that gave such a strength to the wine.

We were no sooner got aboard, but a mighty tempest arose, wherein the ship, men, and goods had all like to have been cast away, being near the shore; but at length, the wind changing, we found ourselves by break of day three or four leagues at sea, having lost all our anchors; and at length came safe to port in the haven of Ponte de Galle, the twelfth of May.

I found nothing remarkable in that city; there being nothing but the ruins made by the underminings and cannon-shot, when the Hollanders besieged it, and chased the Portugals from thence. The Company allowed ground to build upon, to them that would inhabit there, and land to till; and had then raised two bulwarks which commanded the port. If they have finished the design which they undertook, the place cannot but be very considerable.

The Hollanders, before they took all the places which the Portugals had in the island of Ceylon, did believe that the trade of this island would have brought them in vast sums, could they but be sole masters of it; and perhaps their conjectures might have been true, had they not broken their words with the King of Candy, who is the King of the country; but breaking faith with him, they lost themselves in all other places thereabouts.

The Hollanders had made an agreement with the King of Candy, that he should be always ready with twenty thousand men, to keep the passages that hinder the Portugals from bringing any succours from Colombo, Negombe, Manar, or any other places

which they possessed upon the coast. In consideration whereof the Hollanders, when they had taken Ponte Galle, were to restore it to the King of Candy; which they not performing, the King sent to know why they did not give him possession of the town; to which they returned answer, that they were ready to do it, provided he would defray the expenses of the war. But they knew, that if he had had three kingdoms more, such as his own, he could never have paid so great a sum. I must confess indeed the country is very poor, for I do not believe that the King ever saw fifty thousand crowns together in his life; his trade being all in cinnamon and elephants. As for his cinnamon, he has no profit of it since the Portugals coming into the East Indies. And for his elephants, he makes but little of them; for they take not above five or six in a year; but they are more esteemed than any other country elephants, as being the most courageous in war. One thing I will tell you hardly to be believed, but that which is a certain truth, which is, that when any other King or Raja has one of these elephants of Ceylon, if they bring him among any other breed in any other place whatsoever, so soon as the other elephants behold the Ceylon elephants, by an instinct of nature they do him reverence, laying their trunks upon the ground, and raising them up again.

The King of Achen, with whom the Hollanders also broke their word, had more opportunity to be revenged upon them than the King of Candy. For he denied them the transportation of pepper out of his country, without which their trade was

worth little. His pepper being that which is most coveted by the east. So that they were forced to make a composition with him. The King of Achen's ambassador coming to Batavia, was strangely surprized to see women sitting at the table ; but much more, when after a health drunk to the Queen of Achen, the General of Batavia commanded his wife to go and kiss the ambassador. Nor was the King behindhand with the Dutch ambassador another way ; whom the King beholding in a languishing distemper, asked him whether he had never any familiarity with any of the natives. Yes, replied the ambassador ; however I left her to marry in my own country. Upon that the King commanded three of his physicians to cure him in fifteen days, upon the forfeiture of their lives. Thereupon they gave him a certain potion every morning, and a little pill at night ; and at the end of nine days he took a great vomit. Every body thought he would have died with the working of it ; but at length brought up a stopple of coarse hair, as big as a nut ; after which he presently recovered. At his departure the King gave him a flint about the bigness of a goose egg, with veins of gold in it, like the veins of a man's hand, as the gold grows in that country. "

CHAPTER XXI.

The author's departure from Ceylon, and his arrival at Batavia.

The twenty-fifth of May we set sail from Ponte Galle. The second of June we passed the line. The sixth we saw the island called Nazacoes. The seventeenth we discovered the coast of Sumatra, the eighteenth the island of Ingamina, and the nineteenth the island of Fortune. The twentieth we were in ken of certain little islands, and the coast of Java ; among which islands there are three called the islands of the Prince. The one and twentieth we discovered Bantam, and the two and twentieth we anchored in the road of Batavia.

There are two councils in Batavia, the council of the fort, where the General presides, and where all the affairs of the Company are managed. The other which is held in a house in the city, and relates to the civil government, and decides the petty differences among the citizens.

All the kindness I had shown me here, was to be prosecuted by the city council, for being suspected to have bought a parcel of diamonds for Monsieur Constant, my very good friend, and President of the Dutch Factory at Gomron ; but when they could make nothing of it, they ceased their suit, ashamed of what they had done.

CHAPTER XXII.

The author goes to visit the King of Bantam, and relates several adventures upon that occasion.

Being so ill treated in Batavia, I resolved to visit the King of Bantam ; to which purpose I took my own brother along with me, because he spoke the language called Malaye ; which in the east is as universal as Latin among us. Being arrived at Bantam in a small bark, which we hired for ourselves ; we went first and visited the English President, who kindly entertained and lodged us.

The next day I sent my brother to the palace, to know when it would be seasonable for me to come and kiss the King's hand. When the King saw him (for he was well known to him) he would not suffer him to return, but sent others to fetch me, and to tell me withal, that if I had any rare jewels, I should do him a kindness to bring them along with me.

When I saw my brother returned not with the persons which the King sent, I was almost in the mind not to have gone ; remembering how the King of Achen had served the Sieur Renaud. For the French having set up an East India Company, sent away four vessels, three great ones, and one of eight guns, for the service of the country. Their voyage was the shortest that ever was heard of ; arriving at Bantam in less than four months. The King also courteously received them, and let them have as much pepper as they desired, and cheaper by twenty in the hundred than he sold it to the

Hollanders. But the French not coming only for pepper, sent away their small ship with the greatest part of their money to Macassar, to try the market for cloves, nutmegs, and mace.

The French being so soon despatched at Bantam, had not patience to stay till the return of the small vessel which they had sent to Macassar; but to pass the time, must needs run over to Batavia, being not above fourteen leagues off; so that you may be at Batavia from Bantam in a tide with a good wind. When they came to an anchor, the General of the French fleet sent to compliment the General of Batavia, who failed not to answer his civility, and invited the Admiral ashore. Moreover he sent, to those that stayed aboard, great store of excellent cheer, and a good quantity of Spanish and Rhenish wine, with particular order to them that carried it, to make the French drunk. His order was so well followed, that it was easy to set the ships on fire, according to the private instructions which they had. So soon as the flame was discovered from the General's window, which overlooked all the road, there was a wonderful pretended astonishment among the Dutch. But the French Admiral too truly conjecturing the ground and authors of the treachery, beholding the Company with an undaunted courage; "Come, come," cried he, "let us drink on; they that set the ships a-fire shall pay for them." However the French ships were all burnt, though the men were all saved in boats which were forthwith sent to their relief. After that, the General of Batavia made them great offers, which they refused, and returned to Batavia, in expectation of their small vessel.

When it returned, they could find out no better way than to sell ship and goods, and all to the English, and to share the money among themselves, every one according to their condition.

But the trick which they put upon the English was far more bloody. The English were the first that found out the danger of sailing from Surat, Maslipatan, or any other distant parts, to Japan without touching by the way. Whereupon they thought it convenient to build a fort in the island of Formosa, which not only saved the loss of several vessels, but also brought them in great gain. The Hollanders mad that the English were possessed of such an advantageous situation, being the only place in all the island where vessels could ride in safety; and finding they could not carry it by force, bethought themselves of a stratagem; to which purpose they sent away two ships, wherein they stored the best of their soldiers, who pretending they had been in a storm in sea, put into the harbour of Formosa, with some of their masts by the board, their sails scattered, and their seamen seemingly sick. The English compassionating their miseries, which was only in outward appearance, invited the chief of them to come ashore to refresh themselves; which they were very ready to do, carrying as many men with them as possibly they could under pretence of sickness. While the chief of them were at dinner with the chief of the English, they all plied their cups; and when the Dutch saw the English had drunk hard enough, taking their opportunity, they picked a quarrel with the Commander of the fort, and drawing their swords, which they had hidden under their coats

for that purpose, they easily surprized and cut all the throats of the soldiers in the garrison ; and being thus masters of the fort, they kept it from that time till they were routed out* by the Chinese.

Now for the trick that the King of Achen served the Sieur Renaud ; he having got a good estate by jewels, arrived at length at Achen, and as it is the custom for the merchants to shew the King what jewels they have, the King had no sooner cast his eye upon four rings which the Sieur Renaud shewed him, but he bid him fifteen thousand crowns for them ; but Renaud would not bate of eighteen thousand. Now because they could not agree, the Sieur Renaud carried them away with him, which very much displeased the King ; however he sent for him the next day. Whereupon Renaud returning to him, the King paid him his eighteen thousand crowns ; but he was never seen after that, and it is thought he was secretly murdered in the palace.

This story came to my remembrance, when I found my brother did not come along with those that were sent to fetch me. However I resolved to go, taking with me 12 or 13,000 roupies worth of jewels ; the greatest part being in rose diamond rings, some consisting of seven, some of nine, and some of cleven stones ; with some small bracelets of diamonds and rubies. I found the King with three of his Captains and my brother sitting together, after the manner of the east, with five great plates of rice before them of divers colours. For their drink they had Spanish wine, strong waters, and several sorts of *sherbets*. After I had

complimented the King, and presented him with a diamond King, a blue sapphire King, and a little bracelet of diamonds, rubies, and blue sapphire, he commanded me to sit down, and ordered me a glass of strong water to whet my appetite. The glass held a quarter of a pint, and therefore I refused it, which the King very much wondered at; but being told by my brother, that I never drank any strong water, he ordered me presently a glass of sack.

After that he rose up, and seated himself in a chair, the elbows whereof were gilded. His feet and legs were bare, having a Persian carpet of gold and silk to tread upon. He was clad with a piece of calicut, part whereof covered his body from his waist to his knees, the rest being wound about his back and shoulders like a scarf. Instead of shoes he had a pair of sandals, that stood by the chair side, the straps whereof was embroidered with gold and small pearl. About his head he had a thing like a handkerchief, with three corners, bound about his head like a fillet. His hair also, which was very long, was twisted and tied together over his head. Two persons stood behind him with great fans of long peacock feathers, the handles whereof were five or six feet in length. Upon his right hand stood an old black woman, holding in her hand a little mortar and pestle of gold, to beat his *betel*, in; where-with he mixed the kernel of the nut of *Araque*, and seed pearl dissolved. When it was all beaten together, the old woman gave it the King over his shoulders, who opening his mouth, the old woman fed him as our women feed their children.

For the King had chewed so much *betel*, and taken so much tobacco, that his teeth were all fallen out of his head.

The King of Bantam's palace was never built by any curious architect. It is a square place, encompassed with a great many pillars, varnished over with several sorts of colours, against which the King leans when he sits down. At the four corners there are four great pillars set in the earth, at forty feet distance the one from the other, lined with a mat made of the rhind of a certain tree, so thin that it looks like a piece of linen, which neither fleas nor punies will come near. The roof was covered with coco branches. Not far off, under another roof supported with four great pillars, he had sixteen elephants, the noblest of all those that are in the King's service : for he has a far greater number trained up for war, that are not afraid of wild-fire. For his guard he might have about two thousand men, that were drawn up in companies under the shade of the next trees. They are good soldiers, as well by sea as by land ; great Mahometans, and stand not at all in fear of death. His *harem*, or the women's apartment, was certainly a very small place. For when he had viewed what I brought him, he sent for two old women, to whom he gave some of the jewels, to go and show them to his wives. The two women returned back through a little pitiful door ; the enclosure being nothing but a kind of wall made up of earth and cow-dung mixed together. Whatever he sent to the women, they never returned any thing again. Which made me believe they would bear a good price ; and indeed whatever I sold to

him, I sold to good profit, and had my money well paid me. After this we took our leaves ; but the King obliged us to come next day in the evening, because he had a desire to show us a Turkey dagger, the haft whereof, being thin of diamonds, he had a mind to enrich with more stones. Coming to the English house with our money, they wondered that the King had laid out twenty thousand roupies, telling me, they believed it was the best part of his treasure.

The next day my brother and I went to wait upon him at the appointed hour, and we found him sitting in the same place where he sat before. There was a *Moulla* then read to him, who seemed to interpret to him something of the *Alcoran* in the Arabic language. The lecture being ended, they both rose and went to prayers ; which being concluded, the King sent for the dagger and the haft which was of gold. The top of the handle was already set with diamonds, and upon the upper part of the cross bar was cut in facets, which could not be less worth than fifteen or sixteen thousand crowns. The King told me, it was presented to him by the Queen of Borneo, and that it was cut at Goa ; but that he put a far higher value upon it than I esteemed it to be worth. The dagger, as well as the sheath, was full of bezils, or collets, in very good order ; but the King had neither diamond, ruby, nor any other stone to set in the collets ; and therefore desire me to help him to some that might come at an easy rate. I told him it was impossible to find stones that would fit the bezils ; and therefore that it was better, when he had got stones enough, to

fix other bezils according to the proportion of the stones. To which purpose he was first to range all his stones in wax; which I showed him how to do at the same time; but that was above his skill. And therefore do what I could to excuse myself to the contrary, he would needs oblige me to carry the dagger to Batavia; whereupon I took my leave of the King, and departed.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The author's return to Batavia. His re-visiting the King of Bantam. And a relation of several extravagancies of certain Faquirs in their return from Mecca.

About eleven o' clock at night, we embarked for Batavia; for the night winds blowing from the land, are the only winds to serve our turn; so that we were at Batavia between ten and eleven the next morning. There I stayed twenty days for the King of Bantam's sake, to make him believe I had sought for that which I knew was impossible to be found. I had nothing to do all the while, for in Batavia there is no other recreation than gaming and drinking, which was none of my business. At that time the Sieur Cant died, one of the Indian counsellors, who was sumptuously buried for his good services done to the Company; but the people complained heavily of the injustice which he had done as well to the soldiers as mariners.

Having stayed twenty days at Bantam, I resolved

to go and return the King of Bantam his dagger again; for it was impossible to meet with stones to fit his bezils. However I took along with me some other stones which he had not seen. Coming to Bantam, the King caused us to be lodged in one of his own houses in the city, which was made of bamboos. Thither in less than a quarter of an hour, the King sent us some pates, or sweet water-melons, red within like scarlet. We had also mangoes, and a certain large fruit called *Pompone*, red also within, the meat of it being soft and spungy, but of an excellent taste. Having stayed our stomachs, we went to wait upon the King, whom we found in the same place, with his old mortar-bearer, who every foot fed him with *betel* with her fingers. There were sitting about the hall five or six of his Captains, viewing a certain parcel of fire-works, as granadoes, rockets, and other devices to run upon the water, which the Chinese had brought; who are the most exquisite at those sports of any people in the world. When the King was at leisure, I returned him his dagger, telling him, that Batavia was no place to meet with stones; and that such as were to be found, were valued at double the price they were worth; and that there was no place where he could fit himself, but at Golconda, Goa, or the diamond mines. Thereupon the old woman took the dagger, and carried it into his *harem*; nor did the King speak one word more about it. After that I showed him what other stones I had brought, a parcel whereof I sold him to good profit; the King ordering us to come the next day for payment.

The next day about six o' clock in the morning, my brother and I, and a Dutch chirurgion, were going along a narrow way, between a river on the one hand, and the pales of a great garden on the other. Behind the pales a rascally Bantamois, had hid himself; one of those that was newly come from Mecca, and was upon the design Moqua; that is, in their language, when the rascality of the Mahumetans return from Mecca, they presently take their *cric* in their hands, which is a kind of poniard, the blade whereof is half poisoned; with which they run through the streets, and kill all those which are not of the Mahumetan law, till they be killed themselves. These Furies think that in so doing they do God and Mahomet good service, and shall be saved thereby. If any of these mad men be killed, the rabble of Mahumetans buries them as saints, and every one contributes to make a fair tomb. Sometimes you shall have an idle rogue, in the habit of a *Dervich*, that will build him a hut near the tomb, which he undertakes to look to, and strew with flowers. And as his alms increase, he adds some other ornament to it. For the fairer and better set out the tomb is, the more devoutly it is worshipped, and the more alms it brings in. I remember in the year 1642, that at Souali, which is the port of Surat, it happened that a vessel of the Great Moguls returned from Mecca, with a great number of *Faquirs* or *Derviches*. For every year the King sends two vessels to carry and bring back the pilgrims, who have their passage free. And when these vessels are to go, the *Faquirs* come from all parts of India to embark. These vessels are laden with very good

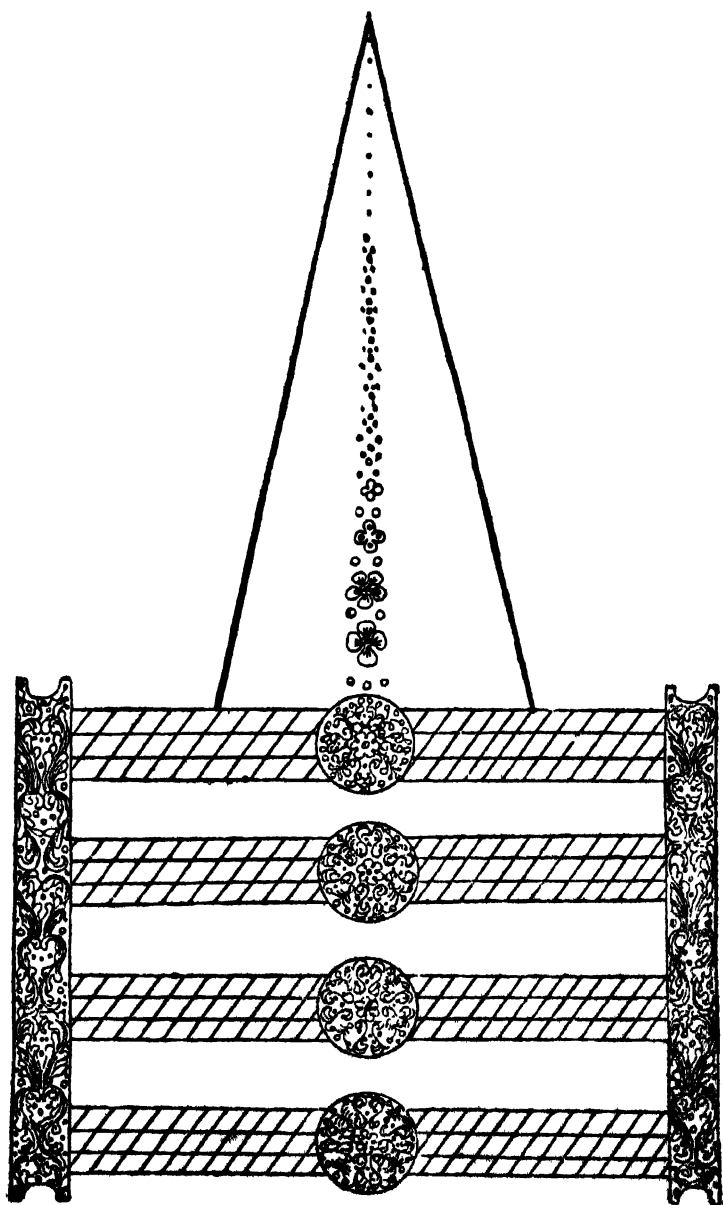
commodities, which are sold at Mecca, and the profit is distributed among the poor pilgrims. But the principal is brought back for the next year, amounting to six hundred thousand roupies at least. 'Tis an ill market when they do not gain 30 or 40 per cent. by their commodities; nay there are some that produce cent. per cent. besides, that the principal persons of the Mogul's *harem*, and other particular persons, send very large gifts to Mecca.

One of these *Faquirs* returning from Mecca in the year 1642, and being landed at Souali, had no sooner said his prayers, but he took his dagger, and ran among several Dutch mariners that were unloading goods upon the shore, and before they were aware this mad *Faquir* had wounded seventeen of them, of which thirteen died. The *Canjare* which he had in his hand, was a kind of dagger, the blade whereof toward the handle was three fingers broad; and because it is a very dangerous weapon, I have here given you the figure of it. At length the sentinel that stood at the entry of the tent where the Governor and merchants were, shot him through the body, so that he fell down dead. Immediately all the other *Faquirs* and Mahumetans that were upon the place took up the body and buried it: and at the end of fifteen days they put him up a fair monument. Every year the English and Hollanders pull it down; but when they are gone, the *Faquirs* set it up again, and plant banners over it; nay some there are that perform their devotions to it.

But to return to the Bantam *Faquir*. That villain lying, as I said, behind the pales, as my brother and I, and the Dutch chirurgion came

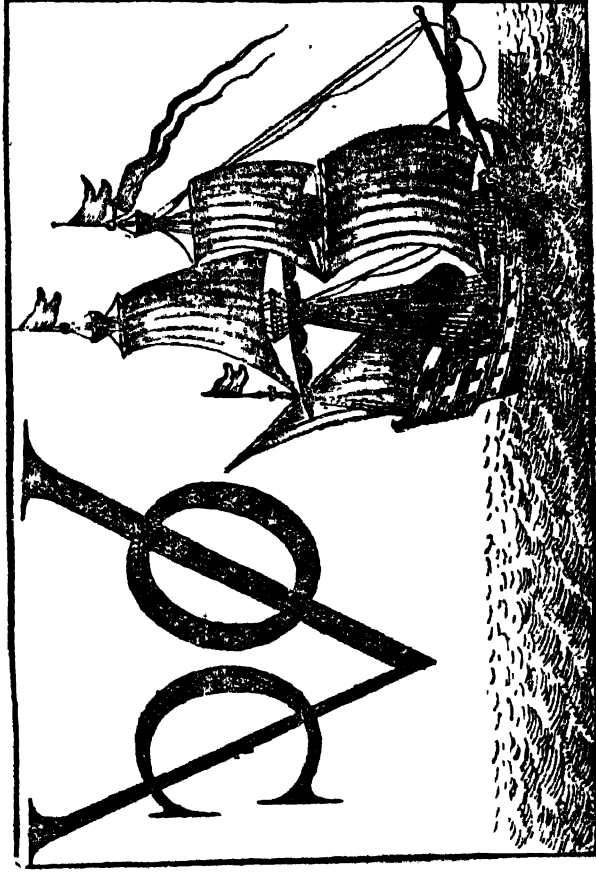
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toward him, all three abreast, thrust his pike between the pales, thinking to have stabbed it into one of our breasts. The Dutchman being next the river, and somewhat before the rest, the head of his pike ran into his breeches; whereupon we both laid hold of the staff. But my brother being next the pales, presently leaped over, and ran the *Faquir* through. Whereupon several Chinese, and other idolaters, came and gave my brother thanks for killing him. After that we waited upon the King, and told him what my brother had done; who was so far from being displeased, that he gave my brother a girdle. For the King and his Governors are glad when those rogues are slain, knowing them to be desperadoes, not fit to live.

The next day, coming to take my leave of the English President, he showed me two strings of diamonds, and two services of silver, which came from England. He would have sold them all, but I only bought one of the strings of diamonds, the other being foul; and for the silver, I would have bought it, had they coined silver in Batavia, as they were wont to do. Formerly the Hollanders coined reals, half-reals, and quarter-reals, bearing on the one side the stamp of a ship, on the other V. O. C. like a character, as in the figure, signifying in Dutch, Vor Ost Indian, Compagnie, for the East Indian Company. Which they did for the sake of the Chinese, who loving silver better than gold, carried away all the silver that was coined at Batavia, at good rates. But at length they left it off, finding so few people that made use of silver.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the war of the Hollanders with the Emperor of Java.

Having taken my leave of the English President, I returned to Batavia ; where having little to do, I resolved to give a visit to the King of Japar, otherwise called the Emperor of Java. This King was formerly King of all the island, till the King of Bantam, who was only Governor of a province, rebelled against him ; the Hollanders being made by the divisions of those two princes. For when the King of Japar besieged Batavia, the King of Bantam relieved the Hollanders ; and when they were attacked by the King of Bantam, the King of Japar came to their assistance. And when those two Kings were together by the ears, the Hollanders always aided the weakest.

The King of Japar keeps his court in a city of the same name, distant from Batavia some thirty leagues. You may coast along the shore to it by sea ; but the city stands above eight leagues up in the land. From the city there is a fine walk to the sea, where there is a handsome port, and fairer houses than any in the city. And the King would live there if he thought it safe.

The day before I departed, I went to take my leave of one of the Indian counsellors, and telling him that I was going to wait upon the King of Japar, he stood amazed, in regard the King and the Hollanders were mortal enemies ; of

which he gave me this account : the 'deceased King, father to the King that now reigns, since the Hollanders built their fort of Batavia would never have any peace with them. And though that during the war the Hollanders took ten of his subjects, for one of theirs, and offered ten for one in exchange, yet he would never exchange one upon any condition whatsoever, and charged, his son upon his death-bed never to release one. This obstinacy very much troubled the Dutch General, and all the rest in Batavia, and obliged them to consult upon ways how to right themselves. Now it is the custom when a Mahumetan King dies, that his successor sends certain great lords of his court to Mecca with presents, as well to engage them to pray for the soul of the deceased ; as also to give thanks to God and Mahomet for the coming of a new King to the throne without any impediment ; and to pray for the blessing of victory over all his enemies. But the new King and his council were at a loss how to accomplish this voyage ; for first the King had none but little vessels, that were wont only to sail along by the shore, by reason of the inexperience of his seamen ; and in the second place the Dutch were always plying to and fro about the mouths of his havens, to surprize his subjects if they stirred forth. For the safety therefore of his pilgrims, the King at last concludes upon making an agreement with the English. For which reason he despatches away an envoy to Bantam, to the English president and his council, who promised to lend him the biggest vessel and the best mounted which the Company had in the Indies. In lieu whereof the

English were to pay but half customs for ever, for all commodities exported or imported out of his country. Which treaty being ratified, the English furnished him with three stout vessels, manned and gunned beyond an ordinary rate. Thereupon nine of the principal lords of the court, and most of the blood royal, with a train of a hundred persons, embarked themselves in the great vessel. But all these preparations could not be carried so privately, but that the Dutch had intelligence of it by their spies. Thereupon the General of the Dutch makes ready three ships, and lying just in the Strait of Bantams mouth; so soon as the English came up, (for they had no other way) let fly at them so roundly, that the English fearing lest their vessels would be sunk, struck sail; which the Java lords seeing, called the English traitors, and drawing their poisoned daggers, cried *a Mocca* upon the English, killing a great number of them before they had time to put themselves into a posture of defence. And perhaps there would not one of them have escaped, had not the Hollanders come aboard as they did. Some of the Java lords, and about twenty of their attendants, would take no quarter; so that the Hollanders were forced to fight for it, and at last they got the better, with the loss of seven or eight men. The English vessel being carried into Batavia, the General very civilly sent both the prisoners and the vessel home again; withal giving notice to the King, that he was ready to make an exchange of prisoners with him. But the King would not so much as hearken to any such proposition; returning for answer, that though the Hollanders had

three times as many of his subjects he would not release so much as one Hollander. So that the poor Dutch were kept slaves in Java, and the Javanners died miserable in Batavia.

As for the Javanners, they are good soldiers. And it is reported, that while Batavia was besieged by the King of Bantam in the year 1659, a Dutch soldier lying in ambuscade in a marsh, a Javanner, little dreaming, that any body had been there, came to the same place to discover the enemy, and was by the Dutchman thrust with his pike into his body. Upon which the Javanner finding himself wounded, did not strive to pull the pike out of the body, but thrust himself farther upon it, to the end he might come at his enemy, whom he stabbed to the heart, as soon as he got within his reach.

CHAPTER XXV.

The author buries his brother ; and is again quarrelled withal by the General and his council

While I stayed at Batavia, my brother died ; and it was pretty to consider what the Dutch made me pay for his funeral. The first expense is for the fees of those that beg leave for the corps to be buried of whom the more there are, the more honourable the funeral is esteemed, I sent six, and paid them to my wonder for that seventy-two crowns. The fee for the pall is a right that belongs to the

poor, for which I paid two crowns. There was a vessel of Spanish wine drank out, that cost me two hundred piasters. I gave twenty-six more for three Westphalia hams, and some neats-tongues, and twenty-two for baked meats. To the bearers I gave twenty crowns, and sixteen for a place in the church-yard, for they asked me a hundred to bury him in the church. And all these are fees demanded. So that my brother's funeral cost me twelve hundred and twenty-three livres of French money.

Being thus put by the two voyages which I intended to Japan and Sumatra, I was advised to lay out my money in *Requening*s or Debentures of the servants of the Holland Company; which they that have no mind to return into their own country, as being settled in the Indies, will sell at an easy rate; insomuch, that for sixty or seventy you may buy a hundred piasters; the act and acquittance of the seller being made and registered by the public notary. Thereupon I bought of one of the public notaries, who had bills in his hands, to the value of about eleven thousand guelders, at four score and two for the hundred. After that, I bought by means of the advocate of the treasury, six thousand guelders more, at seventy-nine for the hundred. But some few days after, meeting with the same advocate again, he passed a compliment upon me, and told me, he was very much troubled for those that had bought debentures, in regard that the General and the council had commanded him to recall all debentures that had been sold; for they had considered, how sad a thing it would be, for the poor men to lose so much of their salaries. I answered him, that for my

part I was willing to return mine, provided I might have my money again. About six or seven hours after, I was sent for by the General and his council. When I came there, they asked me why I had not returned the debentures, which I had bought, to the advocate, who had demanded them by their order. I answered them, that they were at Bantam, whither I had sent them in order to my passage home ; in regard that the English president had offered me a convenience to go along with him. The council answered me, that the Dutch ships were as good as the English, and very courteously assured me, they would give order for a cabin to myself in the *Vice-Admiral*. But withal they told me, I must deliver up my debentures before I stirred ; assuring me, that they would give me a bill to be re-imbursed my money by the Company in Holland, I thought it very hard, for I knew not how to trust them ; but seeing the merchants, commanders, and all other persons clapt up, and their papers taken from them by force, that had bought debentures ; I thought it the best way to deliver mine, and stand to their courtesy. I often pressed the General and the council for my bill, but after many delays the General ascertained me, that my bill should be in Holland as soon as I. Thereupon desiring the Vice-Admiral and some others to be my witnesses of what the General promised, I took my leave of him, very much repenting my going to Batavia.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The author embarks in a Dutch vessel, to return into Europe.

The next day I went aboard the Vice-Admiral, and the third day after we set sail, and as soon as we were out of the strait, we discovered the islands of the Prince. From thence being in the altitude of the Coco islands, we beat about two days to discover them; but all to no purpose, thereupon we made directly for the Cape of Good Hope.

The forty-fifth day after our departure from Batavia, our Vice-Admiral neglected to put out his lights; believing all the fleet had been before at the Cape; so that it happened that one of the fleet being behind, and not carrying any lights out neither, it being a dark night, fell foul upon us, which put every man to his prayers, all people believing the vessel had been lost; and indeed had she not been a sound staunch ship (for the *Provinces* were so accounted) she should never have endured so terrible a shock. At length we cleared ourselves, by cutting of the yards of the *Maestricht*, that hung in our cordage.

The fifty-fifth we came within view of the Cape of Good Hope; but were forced to keep the sea, because the waves rolled so that we were not able to come to an anchor; not that the wind was extreme high, but because the south wind had blown so long that it had forced the water to that part. When the sea grew calm, we came to an anchor.

But of all the people that ever I saw in all

my travels I never saw any so hideous nor so brutish as the Comoukes, of which I had spoken in my Persian travels ; and those of the Cape of Good Hope, whom they call Cafres, or Hosentotes. When they speak, they make a noise with their tongues, like the breaking of wind backward ; and though they hardly speak articulately, yet they easily undersand one another. They cover themselves with the skins of wild beasts, which they kill in the woods ; in winter wearing the hairy part innermost, and in summer outermost. But there are none but the best sort among them who are thus clad, the rest wear nothing but a nasty rag about their privy parts. The men and the women are lean and short ; and when they bring forth a male-child, the mothers cut out his right stone ; and presently give him water to drink, and tobacco to eat. They cut out the right testicle, because, say they, it makes them swifter to run. There are some of them that will catch a roebuck running. They neither know what belongs to gold nor silver ; and for religion, they have none among them.

So soon as we cast anchor, four women came aboard us, and brought us four young ostriches ; which were boiled for some sick people that we had aboard. After that they brought great store of tortoise-shells, and ostriches' eggs, and other eggs as big as goose eggs ; which though they had no yolk, tasted very well. The birds that lay these eggs are a sort of geese, and so fat that they are hardly to be eaten, tasting rather like fish than flesh. The women seeing our cook throw away the guts of two or three fowl which he was

dressing, took them up, and squeezing out the ordure, eat them as they were; being hugely pleased with the *Aqua Vita* which the Captain gave them. Neither men nor women are ashamed to shew their nakedness, for indeed they are but a sort of human beasts.

So soon as the ship arrives, they bring their beefs to the shore, with what other commodities they have, to barter for strong water and tobacco, crystal or agat beads; or any sort of old iron work. If they are not satisfied with what you offer them, away they fly; and then giving a whistle all their cattle follow them; nor shall you ever see them again. Some, when they saw them fly, would shoot and kill their cattle; but after that for some years they would never bring any more. 'Tis a very great convenience for the vessels that touch there, to take in fresh victuals; and the Hollanders did well to build a fort there. It is now a good handsome town, inhabited by all sorts, that live with the Hollanders; and all sorts of grain, which are brought out of Europe or Asia and sowed there, come to better perfection there than in other parts. The country lies in thirty-five degrees, and some few minutes over, so that it cannot be said that either the heat or situation of the climate makes these Cafres so black. Being desirous to know the reason, and why they stunk so terribly, I learnt it from a girl that was bred up in the fort, who was taken from her mother, as soon as she was born, and was white like our women in Europe; she told me, that the reason why the Cafres are so black is, because they rub themselves with a grease or ointment composed of several sorts of drugs;

wherewith should they not anoint themselves very often, and as soon as they were born, they should become hydropsical, as the blacks of Africa, and the Abyssins are; or like the people of Saba, that never live above forty years, and are always troubled with one leg twice as big as the other. These Cafres, as brutish as they are, have yet some knowledge of simples, which they know to apply to several diseases; which the Hollanders have several times experienced. Of nineteen sick persons that we had in our ship, fifteen were committed to the care of these Cafres, being troubled with ulcers in their legs, and old wounds which they had received in the wars; and in less than fifteen days they were all perfectly cured. Every one of these had two Cafres to look after him; and according to the condition of the wound or ulcer, they went and fetched simples, which they bruised between two stones, and applied to the sore. As for the other four, they were so far gone with the pox, that they would not trust the Cafres with them, having been given over at Batavia, and so they all died, between the Cape and St. Helens.

In the year 1661, a gentleman of Brittany being at Batavia, was so bit by the gnats in the night, that his leg exulcerated presently in such a manner, as to puzzle all the art and skill of the chirurgeons in that town. When he came to the Cape of Good Hope, the Captain of the ship sending him ashore, the Cafres came about him, and after they had beheld him, they told him if he would trust to them they would cure him. The Captain thereupon committed him to their care,

who cured him and made him a sound man in less than fifteen days.

When a ship comes to an anchor in the Cape, it is the fashion for him that commands the ship, to give leave to some part of the mariners and soldiers to go ashore to refresh themselves. The sickly have first leave by turns, and go to the town, where they are dieted and lodged for seven or eight sous a day, and are very well used.

It is the custom of the Hollanders, when they stay here, to send our parties of soldiers upon the discovery of the upland country, and they that go farthest are best rewarded. With this design a party of soldiers, under the command of a sergeant, far advanced in the country ; and night coming on, they made a great fire, as well to keep themselves from the lions, as to warm themselves, and so lay down to sleep round about it. Being asleep, a lion came and seized one of the soldier's arms, which the sergeant perceiving, immediately shot the lion with his carbine ; but when he was dead, they had much ado to open the lion's mouth, to get out the soldier's arm. Thus it appears a vulgar error, to believe that lions would not come near the fire. As for the soldier, the Cafres cured his arm in twelve days. There are in the fort abundance of lions and tigers' skins ; among the rest, there was the skin of a horse which the Cafres had killed ; it was white, crossed with black streaks, spotted like a leopard, without a tail. Two or three leagues from the Hollanders' fort, there was a lion found dead, with four porcupines' quills in his body, the third part whereof had pierced his flesh. So that it was judged that the

porcupine had killed the lion. The skin, with the quills in it, is kept in the fort.

A league from the fort, is a fair town, that grows bigger and bigger every day. When the Holland Company arrives there with their ships, if any soldier or mariner will live there, they are very glad of it. They have as much ground as they can manage ; where they have all sorts of herbs, and pulse, and as much rice, and as many grapes as they can desire. They have also young ostriches, beef, sea-fish, and sweet water. To catch the ostriches, when they please, they got their nests when they were young, and driving a stake in the ground, tie the birds by one leg to the stake, and when they are old enough they come and take them out of the nest, from whence it is impossible to fly away.

When the Hollanders began to inhabit the Cape, they took a young girl from her mother, as soon as she was born ; she is white, only her nose is a little flat. A Frenchman got her with child, and would have married her ; but the Company were so far from permitting him, that they took away above a hundred livres of the maid's wages from her, to punish her for the misdemeanour, which was somewhat hard.

There are great numbers of lions and tigers, which the Hollanders have a pretty invention to take ; they fasten a carbine to a stake, driven into the earth, and lay meat round about the gun, which meat is fastened with a string to the trigger. So that when the beast snatches the meat, the string pulls the trigger, and the gun going off, hits the lion either in the throat or the breast.

The Cafres feed upon a root like our skerrets⁴ which they roast and make bread of. Sometimes they grind it into flour, and then it tastes like a walnut. For their food they eat the same root raw, with raw fish ; with the entrails of beasts, out of which they only squeeze the ordure. As for the bowels of the wild beasts, the women wear them dried about their legs, especially the bowels of those beasts which their husbands kill, which they look upon as a kind of ornament. They also feed upon tortoises, when they have so far heated them at the fire, as to make the shells come off. They are very expert in darting their *Azagayaes* ; and those that have none, make use of pointed sticks, which they will lance a great way. With these they go down to the sea-side, and as soon as ever they spy a fish near the top of the water, they will not fail to strike him.

As for their birds, which are like our ducks, whose eggs are without any yolk ; they breed in such great quantities in the country, that in a bay about eighteen miles from the Cape, you may knock them on the head with a stick.

The Hollanders once carried a young Cafre to the General at Batavia, who bred him carefully up, teaching him to understand the Dutch and Portugal languages perfectly well. At length being desirous to return into his country, the General gave him very good cloths, and good linen, hoping that he would have lived among the Hollanders, and been serviceable to them in the discovery of the country ; but so soon as he got home, he flung his clothes in the sea, and returned wild among his fellow natives, eating raw

flesh as he did before, and quite forgetting his benefactors.

When the Cafres go ahunting, they go a great number together, and make such a prodigious howling and yelling, that they fright the very beasts themselves, and in that affright with ease destroy them ; and I have been assured, that their cries do terrify the lions themselves.

The women are of so hot a constitution of body, that at the times that their monthly customs are upon them, they happen to make water, and that European chances to set his feet upon it, it causes an immediate headache and fever, which many times turns to the plague.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Holland fleet arrives at St. Helens. The description of the island.

Having stayed two and twenty days at the Cape of Good Hope, seeing that the wind was favourable, we weighed, and steered for St. Helens. When we were under sail, the mariners cried out, they would sleep till they came into St. Helens Road. For the wind is very constant, and carries you in sixteen or eighteen days to the Road of the island. All the trouble that our mariners had, was that fourteen days after our departure from the Cape, they were often forced to the top-mast head, upon discovery of the island ; for as soon as you discover the island, the

pilot must take care to steer to the north side of the island, because there is no casting anchor but on that side, and that very near the shore too ; by reason of the deepness of the water ; for if the anchors come not to take hold, the current of the water and the wind carries the ship quite out of the Road, which there is no recovering again, because the wind never changes.

So soon as the ships came to an anchor, part of the seamen were sent ashore to get wild hogs, of which there are great plenty ; and to gather sorrel, which grows in great abundance ; and indeed they not only send the seamen, but all the pigs, sheep, geese, ducks, and pullets aboard, to feed upon that sorrel, which purges them in such a manner, that in a few days they became so fat, that by that time we came to Holland they were hardly to be eaten. That sorrel has the same operation upon the men, who boiling their wild swine's flesh, rice, and sorrel together, make thereof a kind of potage so excellent, that it keeps their bodies open by an insensible purgation.

There are two places upon the coast of St. Helens where ships may come to an anchor. But the best is that where we lay, by reason that ground is very good, and for that the water that falls from the mountain is the best in the island. In this part of the island there is no plain, for the mountain descends to the very shore of the sea.

It is not so good anchoring in the other Road ; but there is a very handsome plain, where you may sow or plant whatever you please. There are great store of citrons, and some oranges,

which the Portugals had formerly planted there. For that nation has that virtue, that wherever they come, they make the place the better for those that come after them ; whereas the Hollanders endeavour to destroy all things wherever they set footing. I confess the commanders are not of that humour, but the seamen and soldiers, who cry one to another, we shall never come hither any more, and out of greediness will cut down a whole tree instead of gathering the fruit.

Some days after there arrived a Portuguese vessel from Guiny, full of slaves, which were bound for the mines of Peru. Some of the Hollanders that understood the language of the negroes, told them how miserably they would be used, and thereupon the next night two hundred and fifty of them threw themselves into the sea. And indeed it is a miserable slavery ; for sometimes after they have mined in some places for some days together, the earth being loose, falls down and kills four or five hundred at a time. Besides, that after they had been mining awhile, their faces, their eyes, and their skins change colour ; which proceeds from the vapours that arise from those concavities ; nor could they subsist in those places, but for the quantity of strong water which they give both to the men and women. There are some that are made free by their masters, who labour however for their living ; but between Saturday night and Monday morning they spend all their week's wages in strong water, which is very dear ; so that they always live miserably.

Being ready to depart the island of St. Helens, the Admiral called a council, to advise which way to

steer. The greatest part were for steering more to the west, than to the south ; because the season for sailing was far spent ; and for that if we steered for the West Indies, we should find the wind more proper to carry us into Holland. But we had no sooner crossed the line, but we found the wind quite contrary to what the mariners expected ; so that we were forced to steer to the sixty-fourth degree of altitude with the island, and so return by the north into Holland.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Holland fleet sets sail from St. Helens, and prosperously arrives in Holland.

The next day after the Admiral had called a council, we weighed and set sail about ten o'clock at night. Three days after our departure from St. Helens, the seamen were called very dully to prayers morning and evening ; though all the time we stayed in the Road, they never minded any such matter ; which made me wonder, to find they should be more devout when they were out of danger, than when they were in jeopardy.

After several other day's sailing, we discovered the coast of island, and then the island of Ferella, where we joined with the Holland fleet that stayed for us. Here it is that the commander-in-chief calls to account all the mariners for their misdemeanours during the whole voyage.

Our ship was bound for Zealand ; but we were forced to lie out at sea seven days before we could get into Flushing, because the sand had changed its place. Coming to an anchor before Flushing, two of the company came aboard to welcome us home, and to advise us to lock our chests, and put our marks upon them ; for all chests are carried into the East India House, where when the owners come for them, they are ordered to open them, lest they should have any counterband goods therein. Thereupon I set a mark upon my chests, and went ashore, after I had given a good character of the Captain, and his civility to me all the voyage, and thence proceed by land to Middleburgh.

Four days after I came to Middleburgh, I went to fetch my chests ; and finding the two directors there, one a Zealander, the other of Horn, who came first aboard us ; I produced my keys, and offered my chests to be opened. But the Zealander more civil than the Horner, delivered me my keys again, and taking my word, told me I was free to take away my goods. And indeed I have always observed, that the Northern people are always more rude and ungentle than the Southern.

As for the 17500 florins which the General of Batavia promised should be paid me upon my arrival in Holland, I received so many delays and put offs, that I was at length forced to commence a suit that lasted above two years ; nor could I get a public notary either at Amsterdam or the Hague, that would make me out a protest, every one fearing the directors, who were both judges and parties. At length after five years wrangling and jangling, the director wrote to my brother at

Batavia (for I was then returned again to the Indies) that if I would accept of 10,000 livres, he might receive it for me ; which he did, and was forced to give them an acquittance for the whole.

This is the return which I made from the Indies in the year 1649, and the only time that ever I returned by sea ; having performed all the rest of my travels by land, not counting my short voyages through the Mediterranean for any thing. And as for my first travels, performed them all by land, from Paris through Germany and Hungary, as far as Constantinople ; whither I returned again in the year 1669. From Constantinople I went to Smyrna, thence I sailed for Ligorn ; from Ligorn I travelled by land to Genoa, thence to Turin, and so to Paris.

THE END.

